



NON-ALIGNED NATIONS HOLD THEIR OWN

Castro hosts
3rd world
summit in
Havana



*Our national
nightmare
is back at
\$5 a head*

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Business opts for anarchy and cancer

Most government regulation of business was initiated with business support. During Theodore Roosevelt's administration, the larger food processing, meat-packing, and drug firms welcomed federal regulation. By setting uniform standards, the regulators would prevent small cost-cutting operations from gaining a share of the market.

Many large corporations also welcomed the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). According to William C. Redfield, Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of Commerce, the FTC was meant to be "a friend and counsellor to business."

Of major agencies, only the establishment of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) reflected labor rather than corporate designs.

But in the last three years, big business has turned against its own creations. They see the Food and Drug Administration, the FTC, OSHA, and the Environmental Protection Agency as part of what a bank newsletter describes as the "regulatory revolution." In business's eyes, it is a revolution aimed at the heart of capitalism.

Jack P. Alexander, an American Cyanamid official, describes FTC Chairman Michael Pertschuk as "one of the most dangerous men in America," as a "complete socialist...personally committed to the dissection of huge corporations and the reorganization of business and industry and, in effect, the redistribution of wealth."

Many corporate leaders used to believe that certain measures were necessary for capitalism's long-term survival even if they harmed short-term business interests. But the anti-regulation crusade emanates from a me-first, let-the-future-be-damned outlook. This outlook has its roots in a stagnant economy, which has made big and small businessmen turn over every rock to decrease their costs and increase their rates of profit. If in so doing they should poison Americans with carcinogenic chemicals and food additives, then that is the price society has to pay for economic progress.

President Carter's commitment to consumer and environmental protection was considerably less equivocal than his commitment to national health insurance or a lower defense budget. His appointments to regulatory bodies—Pertschuk to the FTC and Eula Bingham to OSHA—did reflect a long-term rather than a short-term capitalist perspective. Bingham, Pertschuk, and holdovers like Donald Kennedy at the FDA were not anti-capitalist, but they were pro-health, pro-consumer, and pro-plant safety. In an era

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 43) published September 26, 1979 for newsstand sales September 26-October 2, 1979.

of permanent recession and corporate retrenchment, this put them "in effect" in an anti-capitalist position.

In the first three years of the Carter administration, corporate interests, in league with their former small business enemies, have been able to put the regulators on the defensive. In spring 1977, after the FDA had banned saccharin as a carcinogenic, the soft drink and drug industry got Congress to put a three-year moratorium on the ban. In January 1978, the Business Roundtable, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers successfully pressured the House to defeat the Carter-Ralph Nader proposal for a consumer protection agency. This was a watered-down version of a bill that had passed the House during the Ford administration.

That winter, Carter, bowing to pressure, ordered his regulatory agencies to submit cost-benefit analyses of their regulations to a Regulatory Analysis Review Group, headed by Council of Economic Advisors head Charles Schultz. The Review group later recommended that OSHA relax its standards on cotton dust in textile mills (the benefit of lower plant expenses exceeded the cost of brown lung) and that the EPA lower its sulfur-emission standards for coal-fueled plants.

In fall 1978, the House passed an amendment to the FTC's three-year appropriation that would permit Congress to veto any FTC ruling. When the Senate refused to go along, the FTC was given a one-year appropriation, and the debate postponed until this year.

This year, OSHA is under attack from Senators Richard Schweiker and Frank "new right" Church, who are sponsoring amendments to its appropriation that would prevent it from inspecting small businesses. The House has already passed, and the Senate is about to consider, another moratorium on the saccharin ban. And the FTC's three year appropriation is being amended with the legislative veto and several other measures that would reverse recent FTC rulings.

Sugar coated alliance.

Several recent FTC actions have angered business. On the basis of hearings conducted last year, the FTC is now contemplating some kind of restriction on television advertising on children's shows. One FTC proposal is to ban all ads; another is to ban ads for highly sugared products. The projected FTC action has aroused a coalition of broadcasters, sugar, chocolate and cereal manufacturers, as well as the Grocery Manufacturers Association and the NAM.

The FTC has also asked the Dept. of Commerce to eliminate "Formica" as a trademark on the grounds that the plastic material, manufactured by the Formica Co., is now known by that name. Because it is, Formica has been able to charge more for the same product than its competitors. A host of large corporations, including General Electric and Westinghouse, have united to fight the ruling.

The FTC has angered used car dealers by requiring that information about mechanical and safety defects be shown to potential used-car customers. It has angered the funeral industry by requiring that it furnish relatives of the dead with itemized prices. And it has provoked the insurance business by issuing model state laws for the industry.

Business' representatives in the House and Senate have introduced amendments to reverse each of these rulings or potential rulings. But business' main concern in 1979 will be passing the legislative veto. "We see the legislative veto as a big stick that Congress would have over the regulators—to make them back up and justify their work product," a U.S. Chamber of Commerce representative said.

In the present Congress, a legislative veto could be

used to kill most of the FTC's more desirable rulings. In any case, as FTC official Robert B. Reich explained recently in *The Nation*, the veto would politicize the FTC in a harmful way. It would change its focus from public, on-the-record deliberations to backroom political compromises with both the legislature and the executive branch.

The legislative veto amendment is expected to pass the House this fall, but will probably be held up again in the Senate. In that case, the FTC will once more be given a one-year appropriation, and the debate will be postponed for 1980.

A moderate carcinogenic.

The controversy over saccharin has always involved more than just the fate of diabetics and dieters. It involves the FDA's enforcement of the Delaney amendment to the Food and Drug Act. The Delaney amendment, which was adopted in 1958, requires an automatic ban on any food additive shown to cause cancer in animals. This ruling not only affects saccharin, but also sodium nitrates used for bacon and sausages and nitrosamines used in beer. By preventing a ban on saccharin, business wanted to establish the inflexibility of the Delaney Amendment.

The FDA handed down the saccharin ban in March 1977 on the basis of a Canadian study that showed saccharin induced bladder cancer in rats. Congress adopted a three-year moratorium during which the National Academy of Sciences was to prepare a report on saccharin.

The NSA reports thoroughly confused matters. A first NSA report, released in Nov. 1978, described saccharin as a mild carcinogen. Without making any recommendations for policy, it noted that saccharin had not proved beneficial to either diabetics or dieters. (Saccharin may actually increase appetite, scientists now say.)

The first NSA report effectively pulled the rug out from under the businesses that had based their case on the needs of diabetics and dieters.

The final NSA report, released last spring, stated that saccharin was, in fact, a "moderate" carcinogen, which is worse than was believed. Its primary danger was to men, either as adults or as children of women who consume saccharin. It could lead either to bladder or brain tumors.

But two-thirds of the scientists took the position that on the basis of a cost-benefit analysis, saccharin should not be banned, but only restricted. The dissenting third opted for an outright ban.

The NSA findings strengthen the basis of the original FDA ruling. So does a recent Canadian population study that showed a 60 percent cancer risk among men consuming saccharin regularly. But the final NSA recommendations, which were seized upon by the ban's opponents, seem to reflect a business rather than a scientific point of view.

Henry Waxman's House Health Subcommittee rushed through a two-year moratorium (Waxman wanted three years, but American Medical Association experts warned that the cancer threat was sufficient that only two years were warranted.) The House passed the moratorium 394-22. The Senate is expected to follow suit.

The brave House members, all Democrats, who opposed the moratorium, were Dellums, Beilenson, and Hawkins from California, Moffett from Connecticut, Gibbons from Florida, Yates from Illinois, Markey from Massachusetts, Carr from Michigan, Nolan from Minnesota, Maguire from New Jersey, Chisholm, Holtzman, Weiss, Bingham, Ottinger, McHugh and Stratton from New York, Seiberling and Vanik from Ohio, and Obey from Wisconsin.

IN THESE TIMES

(USPS 352-310)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, *Editor*; Florence Hamlish Levinsohn, *Managing Editor*; John Judis, *Political Editor*; Patricia Aufderheide, *Cultural Editor*; David Moberg, *National Affairs Editor*; Mark Naison, *Sports*; Wilfred Burchett, *(Asia & Africa)*; Diana Johnstone, *(Paris)*; David Mandel *(Jerusalem)*; Chris Mullin *(London)*; Bruce Vander-vort, *(Geneva)*, *Foreign Correspondents*; Steve Rosswurm, *Librarian*; Ken Rattner, *Proofreader*.

ART

Tom Greensfelder, *Director*; Jessie Bunn, *Associate Director*; Dolores Wilber, *Assistant Director*; Jim Rinnert, Ann Barnds,

Composition; Pam Rice, *Camera*; Ken Firestone, *Photographer*.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, *Co-publishers*; Jan Czarnik, *General Manager*; Pat Vander Meer, *Circulation*; Bob Nicklas, *Advertising/Promotion*; Bill Rehm, *Office*; Bill Burr, Steve Rosswurm, *Special Projects*.

BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.
NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.
DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303) 333-9554.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

IN THESE TIMES



GM president George Morris, Jr. (left) and UAW president Douglas Fraser (right) announce tentative contract.

UAW settles contract with GM

By David Meberg

THIS YEAR'S AUTO TALKS ENDED as they began in a business-like and accommodating atmosphere. By wrapping up the General Motors agreement several hours before the Sept. 14 strike deadline, the United Auto Workers avoided a strike at their target company for the first time in 15 years. With grey economic clouds hanging over the industry, apparently neither side was in the mood for a knock-down battle.

The UAW nevertheless won a big boost in pensions to be paid in regular increments over the next three years, increased the number of "paid personal holidays" under its graduated strategy for reducing the work week, and negotiated a precedent-setting arrangement for virtually automatic recognition of the union in new G.M. factories. In its major concession to the company, the UAW agreed to greater reductions in pay and benefits for newly hired workers.

The contract package will boost G.M.'s labor costs by approximately 33 percent over the coming three years, assuming inflation settles back down to an average of 5 percent a year, but nearly one-third of that will simply go for cost-of-living increases. (G.M.'s average labor costs, excluding statutory costs like unemployment compensation, would increase by \$4.74 an hour over the current rate of \$14.28.) Although the UAW insists that it ignored the Carter wage standards, sources close to the bargaining believe that the contract could be interpreted as falling within the guidelines by the time

all exemptions are calculated.

Overall the contract is in the range of those negotiated by the Teamsters, Rubber Workers and other major unions this year. The 460,000 G.M. workers will continue to get their traditional 3 percent annual wage increases plus cost-of-living adjustments, which will be improved in the last year of the contract. Then the formula changes from one cent for every 0.3 change in the consumer price index to one cent for every 0.26 change, the formula won earlier this year by the Rubber Workers.

Active workers pay pension cost.

But part of the cost-of-living adjustment will not go to active workers. For the first eight quarters they will lose one cent each quarter, then two cents for each of the final quarters. Although not specifically tagged for any use, the money presumably will go to pay for the increase in pensions for the 146,000 retired workers. Union sources estimated that the money diverted from active workers' pay will cover the major part of the improved pensions for current retirees.

Although the union negotiated substantial, periodic increases in the pensions, it failed to achieve its goal of establishing the principle that cost-of-living adjustments should apply to retirees or that pensions should be linked to wage and cost-of-living increases for active workers. G.M. had adamantly refused to concede such a principle.

Although pensions vary greatly, most retired workers who also receive social security will receive an increase of around \$60 a month in their pensions by the end of the contract. Workers under 62 who

return under the "30 and out" plan first negotiated in 1970 will receive \$115 a month more by the time the contract expires in 1982. That would boost benefits for a worker who retired under that plan sometime this fall to \$915 a month by 1982.

Depending on the base from which the increases are calculated, retired workers will thus get between 24 and 40 percent more money in this contract.

"We're basically satisfied with this start," Henry Oginsky, a leader in the Flint, Mich., Buick local and advocate of cost-of-living for retirees, said. "You've got to get your foot in the door. Now the argument in the future will be how much and where will it be coming from. [This contract arrangement] definitely does hit into our active workers. We're not going to be happy until the pension is 70 percent of the worker's wage and it's tied to active workers' increases on a regular basis."

More time off, union security.

The new contract calls for 26 "paid personal holidays" over the course of the next three years, up from 12 in the past contracts. Four of those are scheduled for the fall of 1982 after the contract expires. Although that is also when workers could be out on strike, the union favored such an agreement so that the company would be forced to schedule the days off during the months when production of new models starts. The "PPH" plan permits reduction in hours of work—and creation of more jobs, the union claims—but allows management to schedule the time off in a way that doesn't disrupt the work schedule.

Although it advanced a variety of proposals for reducing overtime, including a plan requiring paid time off in addition to premium pay in compensation for overtime work, the union won nothing in this important area that would have restrained management's flexibility in scheduling work.

For several years the UAW has been concerned about the flight of many G.M. operations to the South, where some have remained non-union. In the last contract, G.M. promised to remain "neutral" in any organizing drive and a year ago the corporation agreed to ease the transfer of UAW members into newly opened factories. Now the union has won agreement that all new G.M. plants in the U.S. that "produce products similar to" those at existing UAW plants will be treated as "transfers of major operations." The union will, therefore, be recognized as bargaining agent. UAW sources say that the union hopes this will be a precedent that can be extended to other contracts, especially the small parts plants that pose even greater problems of flight to avoid unionization.

G.M. scores a point.

But the company also could claim victory on one of its most heavily stressed principles, the notion that workers should "grow in" to full pay and benefits. Under the old contract, new workers received 45 cents an hour less than regular workers for 30 days, then 25 cents an hour less for an additional 60 days. If they passed probation they received the difference in a lump sum payment.

Now they will receive 60 cents an hour

Continued on page 18.

IN SHORT

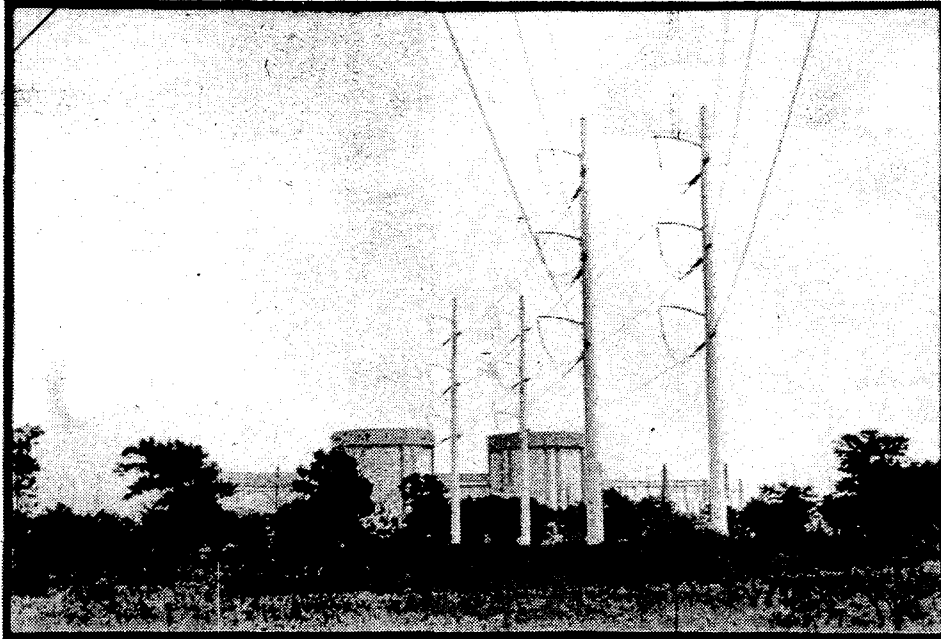
Tight money freezes Illinois nuke project

Anti-nuclear forces had reason to be cautiously optimistic last week as the country's leading nuclear utility, Chicago's Commonwealth Edison, was dealt blows on two fronts—financing and licensing—which may signal the beginning of the end for the giant company's ambitious nuclear power programs, including a construction shutdown at a half-completed plant.

On Sept. 12, the Illinois Commerce Commission (ICC), citing consumer wage concerns and unanswered questions about nuclear power performance, granted only a temporary 1.65 percent (\$45.2 million) rate increase to Com Ed, which wants an 18.3 percent (\$452 million) hike. Edison, which finds itself in dire straits financially because of its five-year, \$4.5 billion construction program, called the decision "a virtual disaster."

The utility, which delivers electricity to 2.8 million customers in northern Illinois, has struggled to be the flagship of the nuclear generating industry since 1960, when its Dresden station became the first U.S. commercial reactor. Edison currently operates seven reactors, with six well under construction and several more planned. If the three stations presently in construction are completed as scheduled by 1983, estimates show the utility's production capacity to be at least 35 percent more than customers will require.

Nuke opponents, while grudging any increase in rates, generally agreed with Greg Palast of the Labor Coalition on Public Utilities, who called the decision "a consumer victory." Since April, Com Ed had gone on the offensive, Chairman Thomas G. Ayers admitting that the



Nuclear energy opponents say a Chicago area nuke shutdown is a consumer victory.

company's "back was to the wall." Its bond rating has fallen, and its stock is selling further and further below book value. "In our business, when you can't do any financing, you're in big trouble," he said, adding, "I do intend to get an increase."

But the ICC was unwilling to do anything but give Com Ed enough money to remain stable while a separate investigation into its construction program continued. Noting that the utility's request was not necessary to cover "operating expenses, interest charges, dividend payments or to provide adequate service during 1979," the Commission claimed the central issue was Com Ed's "ability

to finance its construction program." At the present time, the ICC said it did not "have sufficient information to determine the reasonableness of that program." In his remarks, however, one commissioner did express concern over "the continuing financial viability" of the company.

In calling the ICC ruling "totally irresponsible," Ayers announced a freeze on all hiring and an immediate halt to construction on the half-finished Braidwood station near Joliet, Ill. "The Commission has determined that Illinois citizens should be forced to receive secondary electric service in the years ahead," he charged. The company said 2000 workers would be laid off at Braidwood.

—Peter T. Bohan

Montgomery, have never been strong backers of the volunteer system. But this year they got a valuable assist when the Joint Chiefs of Staff came out in favor of draft registration in their testimony to a House panel.

The Pentagon publicized month-end recruiting shortages—part of a "manpower gap" draft proponents claim will prevent the U.S. from mobilizing quickly enough to win a war in central Europe.

Longtime draft critic Ron Dellums, D-Calif., said historically the draft "has been one of dedicated discrimination in favor of the rich, the privileged, the educated and others at the expense of the poor, the powerless and all the racial minorities in this country."

—Tom Conrad

Rabbit, Scirocco dangers warned

That killer rabbit President Carter recently battled off with a boat oar may not have been worth the alarm, but Volkswagen of America is telling owners of its 1975- to 1979 Rabbit and Scirocco cars to watch out they don't start hopping without the help of a driver.

VW, in an official owner's notice, said a radio antenna cable hole leaks water, and that the water could eventually short fuses and relays and cause a surprise start.

"Because water is a conductor of current, it is possible that the starter is charged accidentally and can move the vehicle if the transmission is left in gear and the parking brake has not been applied. This sequence of events could result in property damage or bodily injury to unsuspecting persons," VW's letter said.

The company advised owners to use their parking brake and arrange for dealers to re-seal the cable hole with a new type of grommet.

Volkswagen is also warning owners to check oil more frequently and has made a reminder sticker available for attachment to their car's fuel filler necks.

VW spokesperson Herb Williamson told IN THESE TIMES about 450,000 warnings were mailed after "field reports" from dealers revealed the potential danger.

He said there were no reports of injuries from the malady.

Williamson said all owners, regardless of whether they had a radio in their car, should be aware of the problem. He said there was no connection between the possible electrical shorting and a large number of VW alternator failures.



Cannery boss baits "carping" activists

The top executive for food canning and real estate conglomerate Castle and Cooke, Inc., says activists who buy company stock as a ticket into corporate annual meetings are a "carping, melodramatic elite minority" and at least one of the "carpers" says he takes the attack as a compliment.

Castle and Cooke president and chief executive D.J. Kirchhoff told a Sept. 12 New York breakfast for financial writers he's opposed to shareholders groups—including the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and the World Council of Churches—using corporate meetings "as a primary battleground" for "divisive and abrasive" political issues.

Ironically, another group raising human rights and other issues at the meetings was the United Church Board for World Ministries, whose former missionaries Samuel Castle and Amos Cooke were founders of the multinational firm, according to ICCR.

Complaints against Castle and Cooke—the parent company for Bumble Bee seafoods, Dole pineapple and Bud of California produce as well as Hawaiian and California real estate operations—include paying less-than-subsistence \$2 per day wages to Philippine workers and shady payments to the Honduran military in an apparent move to squelch labor trouble.

ICCR spokesperson Robert Morris countercharged Kirchhoff "blasts the research done by both church and public interest groups as being politically motivated, but never does he address the accuracy of the factual information."

IPS's Michael Moffitt told IN THESE TIMES "it's a compliment to be attacked by these guys because it shows we're making an impact."

"Obviously, you can't expect to change the nature of capitalism this way, but it's a very good political forum," he said.

Moffitt added "it's a peculiarity of American capitalism that if you have enough money to buy a share of their stock, at least they listen to you. You have to try to talk to at least the small shareholders at the meetings" to inform them of behind-the-scenes dealings.

The activists major tool is the shareholders resolution. If the Securities and Exchange Commission judges the issue "significantly related" to company matters, it must be included in proxy voting materials.

The Wall Street Journal commented that "without the endorsement of management, such resolutions rarely come anywhere near getting a majority vote of shareholders, so few executives get very worked up about them. But Mr. Kirchhoff does."

—Al DiFranco

New draft clause blocked in House

Proponents of the draft lost a major battle Sept. 12 when the House of Representatives voted down a proposal to restore Selective Service registration. The plan rejected by the House would have

required the registration of males who turn 18 after Jan. 1, 1981.

In the past, legislation concerning Selective Service has always been introduced as a separate bill. This year the House Armed Services Committee buried the draft provision in the huge military authorization bill. Several House members objected to what they felt was a sneaky scheme to short-circuit public debate of the draft.

To counter the draft provisions in the House bill, Colorado Democrat Pat Schroeder offered an amendment to strike registration and ask President Carter to study the question and report to Congress. The Schroeder amendment passed by more than a 100-vote margin.

Most of the draft crusaders, like Senator Sam Nunn and Representative Sonny

Ex husband links Seberg death to FBI smear tactic

The FBI admitted it planted a 1970 Hollywood gossip column story that actress Jean Seberg, who recently committed suicide, was carrying the baby of a member of the Black Panther Party.

Seberg's former husband, Romain Gary, said he was the father of the child—who was stillborn—and that the smear story had destroyed Seberg's life by cheapening her public image.

A May 19, 1970 Los Angeles Times column by Joyce Haber referred to an anonymous "Miss A" international movie star who supported the "Black Revolution" and who "is expecting... Papa's said to be a rather prominent Black Panther."

Seberg, who supported black nationalism, "became psychotic," and "every year on the anniversary of this stillbirth



FBI slander target Jean Seberg she had tried to take her own life," Gary said.

FBI director William Webster acknowledged the action, but said "the days when the FBI used derogatory information to combat advocates of unpopular causes have long since passed. We are out of that business forever."

Haber, who no longer writes the column, said she did not know the story was false, but refused to name the news tip's source.

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

TO LONG-TIME CHICAGOANS accustomed to viewing the *Chicago Tribune* as the bastion of right-wing conservatism, it came as a welcome shock that the deceased Ed. McCormick's newspaper blew the top off the government's H-bomb case against the *Progressive* magazine.

Early on, the *Tribune*, along with the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *American Society of Newspaper Editors*, the *American Association of Broadcasters* and more than three-score magazines, had filed an amicus brief supporting the *Progressive's* right to publish an article about the H-bomb against which the government had obtained an injunction on the grounds that it betrayed nuclear secrets.

On Sept. 13, the *Tribune* announced that it would publish a letter to Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) by Charles Hansen, a computer programmer and nuclear hobbyist, detailing public information about the construction of an H-bomb. The government then withdrew all its claims against the *Progressive* and the *Daily Californian*, a Berkeley newspaper that had also announced it would publish Hansen's letter.

On Sept. 17, the Justice Department gave up its effort to stop publication of these "secret" materials, a day after the Hansen letter was published in the *Madison Press Connection*.

But the government has not yet backed off completely. The Justice Dept. continues its suppression of all the documents surrounding the *Progressive's* case. Once the injunction was lifted, participants assumed that the *Progressive's* materials defending the right to publish Morland's article would be released by the court.

However, at press time, the government still insisted that participants in the case ought not to be able to discuss or disseminate these materials.

Back to the Appeals Court.

On Wednesday, *Progressive* attorney Charles Sims told *ITT* that the ACLU will go back to the Appeals Court in Chicago to ask the judges to determine the constitutionality of the government's position. "We will not accept that position," Sims said. The *Progressive* may yet wind up in the Supreme Court over this case.

The injunction against the *Progressive* represented the first time ever that the government had moved to exercise prior restraint against publication, and the publishing world supported its claims that the article was based entirely on public documents and that the government action was a violation of the First Amendment.

Howard Morland, the author of "The H-Bomb Secret: How We Got It, Why We're Telling It," amassed a pile of documents to show that the article was not based on classified information. In addition, the magazine obtained testimony from several nuclear physicists that there was nothing in the article that was not already in the public domain.

Nevertheless, the government pressed its claim that the release of this story would endanger national security by providing the necessary information to enable other nations to build an H-bomb.

Then Hansen's letter attempting to show the merits of the *Progressive's* case was given to a reporter at the Palo Alto, Calif. newspaper, the *Palo Alto Times-Tribune*, and several other papers.

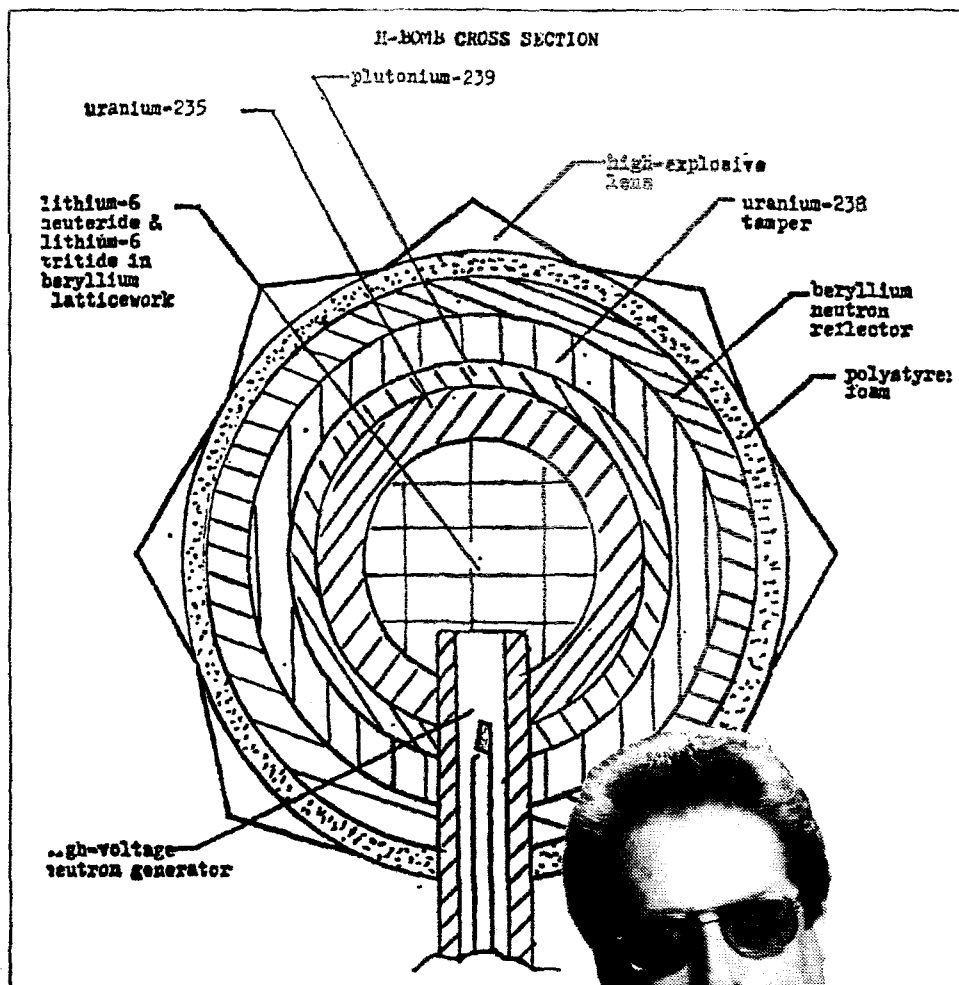
The *Times-Tribune* published a diagram of the H-bomb drawn by Hansen and a story about his effort to sell the *Progressive*. The letter was sent to the Department of Energy, FDSIS promptly responded that the letter contained "classified secret nuclear data" so defined by the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and requested that the document be turned over to the government, claiming that the newspaper was "secretaried" by law from publishing or otherwise disseminating this material.

To the government's disgust, the attorney for the parent Tribune Company, Don H. Rouben, replied that he had advised the publisher that the government's claim was "null and void" and

IN THE NATION

THE PRESS AND THE BOMB

H-bomb secret gets out of U.S. bag



Charles Hansen's diagram of H-bomb. Erwin Knoll, editor of the *Progressive*.

But *Progressive* case could still go to the U.S. Supreme Court

challenged the Justice Department to seek a court order blocking publication.

The *Chicago Tribune* served notice that it would publish "appropriate and informative portions" of Hansen's letter. When the *Daily Californian* also advised the government that it would publish the letter and the Justice Department obtained an injunction to prevent that publication, but it did not move against the *Tribune*.

At about the same time, the *Madison Press Connection*, a newspaper run by former employees of Madison Newspapers, Inc., obtained a copy of the Hansen letter also, though representatives of the paper refuse to divulge how it was obtained. When the *Press Connection* published the entire letter the government did not move against it. In the statement issued by the Justice Department Monday spokesman Mark Sheehan said, "There's no point in continuing any effort to protect the secret once it's out."

However, the government left open the possibility of criminal prosecution without specifying what charges might be brought.

Though they had been scooped by the *Press Connection*, the *Chicago Tribune* still published the Hansen letter. Stanton R. Cook, the *Tribune's* publisher, had promised publication on Thursday. This was moved up to Tuesday when the government renounced its claims against the *Progressive* and the *Daily Californian*.

There is no secret information.

In his statement, Cook said, "We do not believe this letter contains secret information that would jeopardize national

security. We are confident that the information was assembled from records available to any researcher...

"We believe that the government's attempts to prevent publication of this and similar papers represent a dangerous and unprecedented threat to the First Amendment guarantee in free speech and free press..."

"We are aware that the text of the disputed article has been published in a small newspaper in Wisconsin, but knowing how the government may intimidate and has intimidated small publishers we have chosen to commit our resources to the cause of freedom in this contest."

Progressive spent \$200,000 in its defense.

Through its fund-raising arm, the *Progressive* has spent over \$200,000 defending its right to publish Morland's article and was prepared to go to the Supreme Court, Erwin Knoll, the magazine's editor, said.

The last hearing was in the U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago only a few days before the government backed off. In that contest, on Thursday, Sept. 13, the government claimed that the article contained "technical information" that, like obscenity, is not protected by the First Amendment because it is not concerned with policy or ideas.

Following the line used in previous hearings, the Justice Dept. insisted that publication would result in such great danger to the national security that it did not have to show direct causation between publication and probable results as had

been required in the 1971 Pentagon Papers case.

The government further argued that this case is different from the Pentagon Papers because it is covered by the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 that provides for prior restraint of publication to protect nuclear secrets.

Most important to its case, it seemed, was the government's contention that Morland's article was "unique." The concepts, the Justice Dept. maintained, are probably well known to scientists in the abstract, but Morland's was the first such "coherent" synthesis of the material.

Once again, as they had earlier, the American Civil Liberties Union lawyers, representing the *Progressive*, argued that there were no secrets, that all the information in Morland's articles was based on previously published materials in the public domain.

Hansen's letter to Percy made the *Progressive's* case more clearly than the lawyers had ever been able to. On the West Coast, unknown to Morland, Hansen put together a similar "unique" document. The government tried to stop Hansen but it was obvious the case would not hold up. It was not the "unique" technical information that was threatening in the Morland article, but its politics.

"The government tried to censor political ideas and it succeeded for nearly six months," Sims said after the government called off its case.

The Morland article will be published in the November issue of the magazine and the author will take out of the safe his light brown T-shirt bearing a colorful H-bomb diagram that he had made early on in the case. "The government made me lock it in a safe," he said. "I think it's the first T-shirt in history to be classified."

While the actual content of Morland's article will not be known until it appears in the *Progressive* in November, it is clear from the writer's remarks about the article and his testimony in court that the intent of his work was not to reveal the secret of how to construct a bomb but rather to make a case against the secrecy.

I do not know how to make a bomb.

He told the *Madison Press Connection* last March, "I do not know how to make a hydrogen bomb. I don't have any idea. But I know that it's done—that fact can't be covered up. And it's not done by individuals, it's done by Union Carbide Company, and Rockwell, and General Electric, and duPont, and Monsanto...it's big corporations, big factories, enormous factories."

His intent, he said, was to prove a statement made by Albert Einstein in 1947: "There is no secret, there is no defense, and there is no possibility of control except through the aroused understanding and insistence of the peoples of the world."

"Morland believes," says the *Press Connection*, "that the government has prevented the kind of public understanding that Einstein referred to by 'creating the illusion that there was a great national secret that had to be protected.' The H-bomb is political, not technical, he maintains. 'Once you explain the basic ideas of these physical processes, then much of the mystery of the whole thing falls away, giving people the courage and confidence to form their own opinions.'"

Morland began work on the article in the spring of 1977.

Meanwhile, Sam Day, managing editor of the *Progressive*, was doing similar research. He was referred to Morland and shortly after they made the contact that resulted in the article. Morland traveled the route of the nuclear weapons assembly line from Tampa, Fla. to Amarillo, Tex.

His goal in his research, Morland says, is to open the way to the end of nuclear war: "The task that remains now is for informed citizens to recapture the decision-making process from the experts who have misled us and then take the first real steps toward disengagement from the worldwide suicide pact embodied in the nuclear weapons arsenals of the world."

LABOR



Coal firm fights stock gambit

By Robert Howard

THE UNDERGROUND COAL mines of Appalachia seem worlds away from the skyscrapers of Wall Street. But thanks to a Roman Catholic religious order from Nerinckx, Kentucky called the Sisters of Loretto, the gap may be less wide in the future than in the past.

On Sept. 19 the Sisters joined twelve other church groups, community organizations, and concerned individuals in filing suit against the Blue Diamond Coal Company of Knoxville, Tennessee. The group—which includes the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Council of the Southern Mountains, and Ray Rogers, architect of the corporate campaign against J.P. Stevens—claimed that the corporation refused to register stock in their names that they legally purchased through a New York stockbroker.

This lawsuit is the most recent move in what has become an eighteen month contest to enforce a modicum of corporate responsibility on one of the most socially irresponsible companies of southern Appalachia. At stake is not only a few shares of Blue Diamond stock, but the future of the budding movement to use the resources of corporate shareholders for social and political ends.

Since its founding in 1915, the Blue Diamond Coal Company has been the private preserve of a prominent Knoxville family, the Bonnymans. The company operates about twenty underground mines throughout the region through four different subsidiaries. Together the Bonnymans own 145,000 acres in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. In 1976, at the tail end of the coal boom of the early '70s, Blue Diamond's assets were estimated at \$76 million—twenty five times what they had been two years before. During the same period, the price of one share of Blue Diamond stock nearly tripled from \$58 to \$165. Like other energy companies, Blue Diamond used these profits to diversify, purchasing 6 percent of McClouth Steel, the nation's eleventh biggest steel producer, and 97 percent of Heppenstall Inc. of Pittsburgh, a manufacturer of machinery used in steel production.

Blue Diamond's consistent violations.

But in the mountains of southern Appalachia, Blue Diamond is known less for the companies it owns than for the laws it has broken. Blue Diamond has consistently

The Sisters of Loretto are buying Blue Diamond Coal stocks to make it publicize its finances.

violated state and federal environmental laws. In 1977 the company received the largest civil penalty for water pollution ever imposed on a single company in the state of Kentucky, \$25,000 for black water spills. Recently Blue Diamond was indicted for violations of the Clean Water Act. If convicted its Scotia subsidiary could be fined up to \$10,000 a day.

In the area of mine safety, Blue Diamond has accumulated 4686 violations of federal laws since 1970, a record bad enough to get the corporation and its Scotia subsidiary banned from competition for government contracts from 1973 to 1976. And in March of 1976 Blue Diamond's Scotia mine exploded

twice in less than sixty hours, killing twenty-three miners and three federal safety inspectors in the worst mine disaster of the decade. The explosions were caused by the build-up of dangerous methane gas due to inadequate ventilation in the mine. In the year before the explosions Blue Diamond received 63 ventilation violations and the mine was closed ten times for insufficient fresh air and accumulation of methane. Last June, over three years after the disaster, a federal grand jury indicted Blue Diamond on six counts of negligence at the mine and for attempting to cover up its responsibility during the investigation. If convicted in this case, the company faces fines of \$120,000. A \$60 million civil

damage suit filed by the widows of fifteen miners killed at Scotia is pending.

Anti-union activities.

A few months after the Scotia disaster, workers at Blue Diamond's Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky voted to affiliate with the United Mineworkers of America (UMW) in the hopes that a union contract would provide more comprehensive safety protection. Blue Diamond refused to sign the contract, provoking a bitter three year strike. The company signed an illegal contract with the strikebreakers who formed the Justus Employees Association (JEA). Although the UMW poured \$2 million into the Stearns organizing campaign, the campaign became a victim of political rivalries within the union hierarchy and never really got off the ground. Last May, the union gave up. It agreed to a procedure for a new representation election that heavily favored the JEA. Outraged at what they termed a "sell-out" by their UMW leaders, the striking miners boycotted the election. Most are still out of work.

The adverse publicity from its lawsuits and labor conflicts has hurt Blue Diamond's stockholders. Toward the end of last year, Standard Oil of Indiana had agreed in principle to purchase Blue Diamond's coal assets for over \$140 million, a tremendous windfall for shareholders. But after four months of investigation, Standard withdrew its offer citing the "lawsuits and other contingencies" facing the coal company.

Making Blue Diamond go public.

In the language of the corporate lawyers, Blue Diamond is a "privately held corporation." Since the company has less than five hundred individual stockholders (primarily family members but also corporation officers and private institutions with close ties to the Bonnymans), it is not required to register with the Securities Exchange Commission and is exempt from the SEC's regulations governing public disclosure. Blue Diamond has been very careful to remain a private corporation. In January 1978, when the number of stockholders passed the five hundred mark to reach 513, the company began buying up small blocks of stock at prices significantly above those of the market.

At this same time, various citizen groups throughout Appalachia who had been fighting Blue Diamond—and losing—began considering shareholder strategies to force the company into the public domain. If Blue Diamond could

Continued on page 19.

ELECTIONS

Progressives lose mayoral races

By Alan Kay

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

SEPTEMBER 11 WAS A BAD DAY for Connecticut liberals and progressives. In municipal party primaries, two nationally-known urban leaders—and with them their urban programs—went down to defeat by large margins.

In Hartford, a figure familiar to progressives working in local government, Deputy Mayor Nicholas Carbone, was defeated by incumbent Mayor George Athanson, 10,893 to 6,877. In New Haven, two-term Mayor Frank Logue lost by more than 2,700 votes to Biagio DiLieto, a former police chief who has admitted to ordering illegal wiretapping.

Carbone's loss highlights the contradictory identities of a man who has a national reputation as an activist urban leader, yet was repudiated by his city's voters for being too distant, too autocratic and too partial to downtown businesses. In the primary, Carbone carried only his own neighborhood and the city's downtown and West End, both middle-class, professional areas. Athanson, who as mayor in a strong council government has left the running of the city to Carbone,

carried most of Hartford's residential neighborhoods.

The *Hartford Courant* called the primary "not a triumph of virtue over evil, but of soothing blandness over imperious storminess." The paper declared that Athanson won because the voters were less scared of him.

Voters in the neighborhoods apparently felt Carbone was too distant. They commented that he always seemed to be in Washington, or out of town elsewhere. (Carbone taught a course in urban government at Harvard last year while serving on the city council.)

During his 10 year tenure as a city legislator, Carbone took control of much of the city government apparatus—too much, in the view of many voters. Even supporters of Carbone's programs worried about giving him any more power. Carbone exacerbated those fears early in the campaign by supporting a reform of the city charter that would have given Hartford a "strong mayor" form of government—and the new mayor more power. In the resulting furor he backed down, but some damage had been done.

Carbone never successfully established relationships with the major neighborhood organizations, and they were critical of him during the primary campaign.

The high voter turnout was in part due to resentment of programs emphasizing downtown development, which Carbone said was necessary to build Hartford's tax base.

Athanson successfully reminded the voters of Carbone's support for an Urban Development Action Grant to build "skywalks" between commercial buildings downtown and his pressure for rapid completion of the downtown Civic Center—the roof of which subsequently collapsed.

Bringing in outspoken liberals such as Andrew Young appears not to have helped Carbone at all; it may in fact have hurt by reminding voters of his national, as opposed to neighborhood, connections.

Hartford Assistant City Manager John Alschuler, a Carbone protege, acknowledges that some of the voters' criticisms are accurate. "We spent too much time trying to get the fullest use of the powers of government to carry out the programs we believed in—making the suburbs carry their fair share of the burden, for example, and increasing welfare benefits. And we spent insufficient time doing fewer things but communicating them better. There are things we should have done in partnership with the

Continued on page 19.

TRANSPORTATION

Amtrak passenger service derailed by administration

By Patrick Lacefield

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S poorly timed decisions on energy policy seem to defy common sense. President Carter's proposed negotiating crude oil as a stimulus to investment at a time when the oil companies recorded profits were as high as 235 percent over the previous year, urged the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to streamline power plant licensing procedures in the wake of Three Mile Island and, on Aug. 28, directed Amtrak to eliminate 5,000 miles of track and six routes at a time when the passenger rail operation was enjoying a ridership boom.

In June, Amtrak carried more than two million passengers—25 percent more than a year earlier and the highest monthly total in the quasi-public corporation's eight year history.

Although the availability of gasoline had improved, the statistics indicated exorbitant gas prices, not availability, were behind the upsurge in rail travel. Rail advocates say that underscores the need for expansion and improvement rather than a rail service cutback.

Although Carter's plan to cut six routes was less painful than the Department of Transportation's (DOT) original proposal to slash 12,000 of Amtrak's 27,500 miles of track, (see *ITT*, May 26), rail proponents say any reduction now is shortsighted.

"The administration is very embarrassed by ridership growth since the gas shortage and the increased revenue Amtrak is bringing in," Harry Williams, assistant director of the National Association of Railroad Passengers (NARP) told *IN THESE TIMES*. "We simply aren't convinced that a smaller Amtrak system is better," he said.

Williams said it is difficult to restore service once routes are discontinued and that terminations hurt other routes by eliminating connecting points.

According to Williams, federal Amtrak expenditures of \$578 million last year constituted only two percent of the DOT budget.

One problem rail passenger advocates faced was Amtrak's reluctance to support proposals in the House and Senate to delay the cutbacks for a year to allow a study of the trends in increased ridership.

Amtrak delayed the release of its April report until July 13 and then issued the statistics without the customary cover letter calling attention to the data. The report revealed the greatest surge in business in Amtrak's eight year history with a 15 percent increase over last April. Ridership in the Northeast corridor rose 5.7 percent, for short-haul trains business was up over 26 percent and long-haul carriers recorded nearly a 33 percent gain. "It can be assumed," states a NARP report, "that the DOT is embarrassed by the ridership gains and would like Amtrak to keep the data as quiet as possible."

In June, the Carter administration unsuccessfully tried to stop Amtrak from running full-page promotional ads in 169 U.S. newspapers that stressed the importance of Amtrak during the gas shortage with the headline "During the Gas Shortage, Our Stations Will Remain Open." When NARP stated that Amtrak had denied 1.4 million requests for space in June, Amtrak refused to confirm the figures. After the moratorium was defeated on the House floor, Amtrak admitted it denied 1,600,000 requests in June, up 1,400 percent over the 11,948 denials in June 1978.

People have been riding trains in record numbers. But Carter has decided to cut back on six train routes.

"Trains represent the future and not the past in American transportation," Carter told reporters after riding the Metroliner from Washington to Baltimore on Aug. 7. Yet when representatives in the House and Senate proposed a moratorium on cutbacks the last week of July, opponents threatened a Presidential veto should the measure be enacted. Though the committee bill was touted as a "rational" approach to the rail question, opponents twisted the guidelines and criteria to save certain trains needed to appease wavering legislators. The House narrowly defeated the moratorium amendment by 17 votes (214-197) while a similar move in the Senate garnered 35 votes, only five of them coming from senators whose states lie east of the Mississippi River.

Under the "compromise approved by Congress and endorsed by the Amtrak board, six trains will be discontinued Oct. 1, leaving cities such as Wichita and Oklahoma City, Columbus and Nashville, Tenn. Montgomery and Billings, Mont. without rail service. The terminated lines include the National Limited (New York to Kansas City), the Floridian (Chicago to Miami), the Hilltopper (Boston to West



Virginia via Washington), the Lone Star (Chicago to Houston) the North Coast Hiawatha (Chicago to Seattle) and the San Joaquin (Oakland to Bakersfield, Calif.

Amtrak's standards for continuation of trains—that they carry at least 150 passengers per mile and lose no more than eight cents per passenger mile—were subordinated to the political wheeling and dealing the administration required to defeat the moratorium on cutbacks.

The Cardinal, for example, which runs from Majority Leader Robert Byrd's bailiwick in West Virginia to Washington and Chicago, rated lower than five of the six discontinued trains according to Amtrak data, but survived the cuts unscathed.

While administration and DOT stalwarts are breathing a sigh of relief that this long and embarrassing struggle of frugality over common sense transportation policy is at an end, rail passenger advocates have yet to toss in the towel. "Only now are the people on Capitol Hill discovering that Amtrak and the DOT sold them a bill of goods with misleading information," explains NARP's Williams. "Given the grassroots furor the cuts are sparking in hundreds of communities, we're trusting in the sense of self-interest of Congresspeople and Senators and hoping they can alter the criteria or provide for supplemental appropriations to keep the trains alive."

Cost of living dispute closes BART

The union says they were locked out, management says they struck. At bottom is a dispute over a cost of living increase and a new contract.

By Helen Mickiewicz

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

SAN FRANCISCO'S BAY AREA Rapid Transit system (BART) has shut down once again, this time in a major labor dispute that could set the pace for other transit systems and their workers around the country.

BART management contends that the system's employees began a slowdown several months before their contract expired at the end of June. The workers' representatives, the Amalgamated Transit Workers Local 1555 and Service Employees International (SEIU) Local 390, deny management charges of a slowdown and of workers committing acts of sabotage to put the system out of commission. The unions contend that the workers merely stopped putting in overtime.

The number of trains available for service dropped dramatically in late spring.

Both sides initially agreed to operate on a day-to-day basis under the old contract while a new one was negotiated. But in mid-July management suspended the old contract and instituted new rules, including no sick leave unless a worker was hospitalized, no vacations and forced overtime. The situation escalated while the train count continued to drop. On Aug. 31, without warning, BART management ordered the system shut down indefinitely. The unions say their members were locked out. BART management says that workers are on strike.

At issue is money. In this case, money in the form of a cost-of-living clause (COLA) negotiated into the BART workers' contract six years ago. The COLA calls for quarterly increases pegged to the rate of inflation, an amount that management says will total \$15 million over the next three years. The current BART dispute is directly tied to a rising inflation rate.

Both sides agree that the COLA was a progressive measure when it was negotiated. But now BART management thinks it made a mistake, BART General Manager Keith Bernard claims that the only unions that have full cost-of-living clauses are transit workers, including BART workers. But, he says, "the trend now is away from those kinds of clauses in a period when inflation is running at 14 percent. We just can't afford it anymore."

But SEIU's Executive Secretary Paul Varacalli argues that the rate of inflation in the Bay Area, to which BART workers' increases must be tied, is only 7.6

percent. Furthermore, Varacalli disputes Bernard's insistence that there just is not enough money to meet the COLA in a new contract.

Management predicts that fulfilling the cost-of-living clause would require a 50 percent fare increase. BART is already planning a 25 percent fare increase, slated to take effect in the next few months. But Varacalli points out that BART management made the same claim while negotiating the last two contracts. They somehow found the money because, according to Varacalli, "all transit systems in this country always must operate at a deficit, always must find subsidies from the federal or state governments or both. And BART is no exception."

Public resentment of high wages.

The cost-of-living clause would not be the hot issue that it is in the negotiations if BART employees were not the highest paid transit workers in the country. Bernard insists that since the COLA was negotiated, BART employees' wages have gone far beyond wages for similar work in other transit systems. Bernard said "wages are so far out of line that it's become a very large public issue."

Publicity about the substantial salaries that some BART workers command (up to \$22,000 annually) has created resentment among the transit system's users. Many commuters have sided with BART management. When asked what they thought of the unions' stand on the cost-of-living increase, riders I questioned of-

Continued on page 18.

IN THE WORLD



IRA volunteers address rally of 15,000 at Belfast stadium.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Mountbatten death follows Belfast riots

By Dennis O'Hearn

BELFAST

SINCE RIOTING BEGAN IN NORTHERN Ireland several weeks ago to commemorate the 10th anniversary of British occupation of the six counties, walls along Belfast's Falls Road have been painted with a short statement—"aftermath!"

On Aug. 27 the meaning of "aftermath" became startlingly clear with the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) execution of Lord Louis Mountbatten and their guerrilla operation that resulted in the death of 18 British soldiers. Among the dead was Lt. Col. David Blair, the highest-ranking soldier to die since occupation.

At the beginning of August, civilians battled with the British army and the police. Angry crowds hijacked lorries and fought with the army for a fortnight, setting up barricades in Derry and Armagh. Then, on Aug. 12, 15,000 people marched to a Belfast stadium to show their support for the IRA. "We will defeat the British," said the hooded armed volunteers who mingled with the crowd. "And this is our means," they added as they waved machine guns in the air. In a SuperBowl atmosphere, the stadium erupted with footstomping, handclapping, and cheers of "I...I...IRA." It was the most clear-cut show of mass support for the armed struggle by the Republican community of Northern Ireland in the last 10 years.

During the first part of August the British army and police were not idle. I attended to a young man who was beaten senseless by the police on Bombay Street. This was 10 years almost to the day after the police had helped loyalist mobs burn Bombay Street at the start of the troubles. Scores were arrested and beaten. A newsman from Los Angeles, Dave Irby, was attacked by the King's Own Scottish Borderers regiment.

I was arrested twice for trying to report the unrest. I stood by as a young man was shot at point-blank range by a plastic bullet, watched the army try to burn down

Sinn Fein headquarters while it was full of people. When two women tried to put out the fire, they were shot with plastic bullets. One Belfast boy, Stephen Montague, was shot, beaten, and dragged unconscious into a Protestant area to be disposed of by British soldiers.

The IRA took action after the riots ended. The Aug. 27 attacks captured the attention of the world press. "These Evil Bastards" read the bold headlines of the British *Daily Express*. "Murdering Bastards" cried the *Daily Star*. And the Tory *Daily Mail* simply read "Murder."

The Thatcher government blamed the Irish government for Lord Mountbatten's death. Others blamed the execution on Irish-Americans Tip O'Neill, Hugh Carey and Ted Kennedy.

In the wake of the Aftermath.

Following the IRA operations, there has been a lot of talk, but very little action. The British, laying all blame for the strength of the IRA at the feet of the Irish Free State, have called for "improved cooperation on security" between North and South. Irish leader Jack Lynch was called on the carpet by Thatcher. After the Mountbatten funeral, Thatcher attempted to persuade Lynch to allow British troops into the Free State to chase the IRA. But Ireland will not allow this. Lynch, for his part, wanted a political commitment from Britain to work with Ireland to iron out a solution in the North. But Thatcher held fast to the claim that no one but the British has a right to interfere in the affairs of Northern Ireland.

Meanwhile, the Irish Free State has tightened security. Two men were charged with the Mountbatten killings after just one day. The Irish police (the *gardai*) set up traffic censuses throughout western Ireland as a security measure.

The most frightening developments are in the North, where loyalist anti-Catholic feelings are running high. When Thatcher and the media drummed up anti-Irish feelings in the six counties, they fanned the flames of sectarian bigotry. The Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), a loyalist



IRA communique on Mountbatten

The following was published by the IRA Sept. 6, after the funeral of Lord Mountbatten and members of his family.

"Now that you have buried your dead and the understandable emotional responses which followed the events of last week have begun to subside, we sincerely hope that you can now begin to understand the im-

mense problems your government's presence has created in our country. We sincerely believe that you, the British people, must now honestly and logically begin to reexamine the role of your government in Ireland, and realise that a continuation of the occupation of a part of Ireland is a sure recipe for further heartbreak and suffering. You, the British people, must understand that while Britain continues to interfere in the internal affairs of the Irish nation, there will be many more deaths of both British and Irish people."

paramilitary group, held a press conference Sept. 2 where hooded gunmen promised to go into Catholic areas and to kill 100 Republicans. Already three Catholics have been murdered in separate incidents. Another survived several gunshot wounds on Sept. 5. None of them were members of the IRA.

Since the latest wave of violence, the public presence of British troops in Belfast has dropped. This can only mean that the army is staying out of the way of loyalist paramilitary gangs, letting them do the job of terrorizing the Catholic population. This is not enough for Euro-MP John Taylor of Northern Ireland. He has called on the UFF and other loyalist groups to retaliate against the Irish Free State. No such retaliation has taken place yet, but the *gardai* have considerably increased their security at the border (through traffic counts) and at airports. Since there are over 400 roads crossing the North-South border, it is impossible to seal off the IRA or the loyalists.

The question remaining on the minds of

many people is why did the IRA Provisional Wing kill Mountbatten. Politicians have reacted by calling the Provos "cowardly psychopaths" and "evil men." A provo communique said that the execution is in return for Britain "not giving a damn about their division of the Irish people...about two thousand deaths...about Bloody Sunday, or Brit repression, or torture, or the suffering they inflict on the prisoners in the H-Blocks." The IRA continued, "If Britain wants to continue to occupy, to torture...well for that we shall rip out its sentimental, imperialist heart."

The last victims of the Mountbatten bombings were laid to rest. Yet, while those burials took place, a judge in Northern Ireland decided there would be a trial of British soldiers who shot 23 year old James Taylor of County Tyrone three times in the back. Nor was there any trial for the British soldiers who shot in the back and killed 10-year-old John Boyle this year. About the killings, the press was silent.

GREECE

Government wins showdown with union

Greece's largest union, the bank employees, backed down from a showdown with the government.

By Nicholas Papandreou

ATHENS

THE GOVERNMENT HAD BROKEN their strike by threatening to draft them into the military, and by the night of Aug. 9, labor strife had turned the streets of Athens into a white collar war zone.

Hundreds of police, backed by elite riot squads, guarded major intersections in the Greek capital, awaiting orders to break up a slowly gathering crowd demonstrating their support for the striking bank employees union.

Suddenly, the riot squads emerged from behind regular police lines, swinging two-foot billy clubs from behind transparent shields and wading into groups of hundreds of demonstrators.

Fighting continued into the early morning hours, with 20 people reported hurt and 50 arrested, including nine socialist leaders.

The new wave of protests against government-imposed austerity—part of a hastily adopted "energy program"—and by the 28,000 member bank employees union has developed into a test of strength for the government of Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis and the Andreas Papandreou-led Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).

The socialists, who got 25 percent of the votes in the latest election compared to Caramanlis' 42 percent and the Greek Communist Party's nine percent, have made sweeping gains throughout the country this summer, mostly because of the government's blunders. And, finally, PASOK has begun to make its presence felt in the cities and the labor movement.

The bank employees strike, which is opposed by the Communists, revealed deep division within the Greek labor movement—a division between government-controlled unions and non-government unions as well as a division within leftist labor organizations.

With one of the largest union memberships, bank employees say the government is trying to test their resistance to changes in life style from the newest members of the European Common Market. The bank employees, considered the elite of Greek white collar workers and among the highest paid, are the most ardently pro-union. They set the pace for the rest of the country's organized labor.

About one third of the nation's labor force belongs to one of more than 4,000 unions. The small unions are promoted by the government in an apparent effort to divide and dilute their strength.

Taking advantage of economic crises to escalate its war on non-government controlled unions, the bank workers were hit in June with an attempt by the government to change work hours to eliminate Greek-style siestas. There was also a move towards Westernization with the closing of businesses by 2 a.m. The early-to-bed, nine-to-five plan came on the heels of salary freezes, tax hikes and restrictions on gasoline consumption.

The violent reaction by bank workers, however, surprised both politicians and union officials.

An eight-day strike following the change in work hours crippled the economy, while other unions supported



Supporters of bank employees jam into central Athens. Police battle construction workers (inset).

the bank employees.

Under enormous pressure from business, which was losing millions of dollars per day, the government drafted bankers into the military, then ordered them back to tellers' windows as white collar soldiers. With possible prison sentences of 15 years hanging over their heads, the banks were back in business the next day.

Many felt the union leadership, which buckled under the government's draft threat, had betrayed the rank and file. The elements that called off the strike included pro-government unionists, personal friends of Greece's labor minister and Communist Party officials. All apparently wanted to avoid open confrontation with Caramanlis forces, while socialists and the small Eurocommunist party supported a more militant strategy.

The Aug. 9 Athenian rally was backed by the telephone and electrical workers union along with other labor organizations in direct defiance of a government prohibition on the demonstrations.

Besides not wanting to participate in a confrontation, Communists apparently wanted no blame for any possible disruption of Caramanlis' plans to visit Moscow later this year—the first prime ministerial visit to the Soviet capital since the 1945-to-1949 Greek civil war. Communists were also apparently threatened by growing workers' support of PASOK, which has supported nearly every recent strike.

Divisions within the labor movement and the rift between socialists and the Communist Party are expected to create serious difficulties for PASOK in the next elections, although many Greeks consider PASOK's electoral victory to be only a matter of time.

NOW AVAILABLE!

Essays on The Social Relations of

Work & Labor

A Special Double Issue of *The Insurgent Sociologist*

Contributors include:

ARONOWITZ
EDWARDS
FONER
MOBER?
NYDEN
PECK
STRASSER

Topics include:

Labor, Technology
and Social Relations
Black Labor in the 1970's
Quality of Work
Rank and File Movements
Women: Home Economics and
The Labor Movement

SUBSCRIPTION BONUS

With each new sustaining subscription you can receive a free copy of G. William Domhoff's *New Directions in Power Structure Research* (Vol. V No. III, Spring 1975) while the supply lasts.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Work & Labor Issue _____
(\$5.00 plus .50 postage & handling)
Sustaining Subscription _____
(\$10.00)

Send me a copy of the Domhoff reader with my sustaining subscription _____

The Insurgent Sociologist
Department of Sociology
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

\$6.00 low income
\$10.00 sustaining
\$14.00 institutional
\$3.00 back issues

NON-ALIGNED NATIONS



President Tito of Yugoslavia addresses the conference (right) while Fidel Castro (above left) listens.

Non-aligned nations meet in Havana summit

Steering clear of power blocs, they condemned Egypt, blamed the U.S. for exporting inflation, and compromised on Kampuchea.

By Philip Brenner

HAVANA

BY THE FIFTH DAY OF THE summit conference of non-aligned nations, which met here Sept. 3-9, delegates to this largest gathering of third world leaders were fairly weary from the speeches that went on day and night. As Ali Triki, foreign minister of Libya, delivered his oration late that evening, it was clear from the bent heads in the audience that some of the delegates were drowsing, including Egyptian foreign minister Boutros Ghali. Dr. Triki reviewed the "victories" of the non-aligned movement since the fifth summit at Colombo, Sri Lanka in 1976, and condemned the repressive intervention of the racists against the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and the front line countries." Then his voice rose as he began an attack on the Camp David accords, and in ringing tones he condemned Egypt for its "treason" against the movement. This aroused other delegates who reacted with a loud applause that awoke foreign minister Ghali. Seeing his fellow diplomats clapping, he instinctively responded by also applauding the condemnation of Egypt.

It is tempting to take this incident as a metaphor for the summit as a whole, to see the meeting as a mere exercise in diplomatic rhetoric that will be forgotten as soon as the 52 heads of state, government and national liberation organizations and foreign ministers from more than 100 countries return home. However, most of the countries in the non-aligned movement consider it to be a major force in world affairs, and attached the highest importance to the summit.

This was best indicated by the behavior of the Yugoslavian delegation. President Josip Broz Tito, the only surviving "founder" of the movement, which held its first summit at Belgrade in 1961, arrived four days ahead of most other heads of state. To emphasize the gravity he accorded this meeting, he brought along a contingent of 180 diplomats and a press corps of 140. (The Yugoslav presence was so dramatic, that prior to President Carter's press conference on Soviet troops in Cuba reporters jokingly surmised Carter would be apologizing for the CIA, which had mistakenly identified the Yugoslav journalists as Russian soldiers.)

The reality of the summit and the movement's importance lies somewhere between these extremes. There are 92 countries and three liberation organizations—The Patriotic Front, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)—which have full membership in the movement. (Twenty other members have "observer" status.) Together they represent over half the world's population, and the differences among them—in culture, political and social organization, and natural resources—seem stark and overwhelming. The viability of the movement is limited by the fragile bonds that tie the nations together. This fragility makes the achievement of a broad consensus on many issues all the more remarkable. By U.S. standards they are quite radical, and they place the movement in direct opposition to positions advocated by the U.S. government.

Points of unity.

There was little surprise that almost every member vehemently condemned the Camp David accords signed by Israel and Egypt. What was striking was the extent that Egypt itself was denounced. In his opening address, Cuban President Fidel Castro focused on Egypt and strongly suggested that weapons Egypt is getting seem intended for use "against the people in the area, including the Egyptians themselves." While such a frontal attack on a member country is unprecedented, it was followed later that day by a barrage of similar, ad hoc statements from other countries.

Egypt became the repudiated pariah of the summit, which unexpectedly agreed to place Egypt on effective probation. An ad hoc committee was charged with the duty of determining whether "the damage caused to the Arab countries" by Egypt through the Camp David accords was sufficient grounds for suspension from the movement. The Arab League had called for Egypt's outright expulsion, but nearly all observers had anticipated no more than a strongly worded rebuke. Egypt's position was further weakened when President Anwar el Sadat chose to meet in Haifa with Israel's Prime Minister Menachim Begin instead of coming to Havana.

The "right" of the Palestinians to their

own state received ringing endorsements from the heads of state, and they gave PLO representative Yasser Arafat a standing ovation when he came up to address the plenary. Nearly all the leaders criticized Israel's occupation of land that belongs to three Arab member states, and the continued bombing of refugee camps in southern Lebanon. They saw the Camp David accords as tacit approval of aggression, not as a framework for peace.

Similar unity emerged around support for the independence movements in southern Africa and the front line states. The summit did not even entertain discussion of whether or not to recognize the Mugabe government in Zimbabwe. Nor did it outline how to respond to South Africa's internal reforms. Members focused instead on "how best to support the armed struggle of liberation forces in the region."

With respect to what the U.S. traditionally considers its home territory—Latin American and the Caribbean—the final declaration is the most extensive and detailed statement on the area ever issued by the non-aligned movement. Drafted principally by Panama, Peru, Jamaica and Cuba, the document reaffirmed the Puerto Rican right to independence, and for the first time linked it to the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples in Belize, Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guiana. "Whereas Cuba was the only Latin American nation in the movement in 1961, today there are now 11 full members, including four who were admitted during this summit (Nicaragua, Grenada, Bolivia and Surinam).

Economic Issues.

Thirty five years ago none of the countries in the movement today were independent and so their common antagonism to contemporary manifestations of imperialism and colonialism might have been expected. But there was also widespread agreement on economic issues in Havana. The heads of state declared that the "crisis of the international economic system was a symptom of underlying structural maladjustments and basic imbalances, aggravated by the unwillingness of developed market economy countries to control their external imbalances, high levels of inflation and unemployment, thus resulting in the transfer of their adverse effects to developing countries."

While they may have different economic systems, the developing countries shared a sense of outrage that the gap between their per capita income and that of the developed world had increased to a ratio of 14:1. In Washington, officials blame this growing disparity on the rise in prices by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). In Havana, the non-aligned nations defended OPEC, most of whose members also belong to the movement. The summit described the price increases as a laudable example of how these resource rich countries have refused "to continue allowing themselves to be exploited."

Instead of the oil price rise, the identify "protectionist" measures by the developed countries, and the operation of the international monetary system, as the source of their problem. Speaker upon speaker focused on deteriorating terms of trade for the third world caused by the imbalance in the price of finished products that they buy and the raw materials that they sell.

Previous summits had provided similar analyses, and since the 1973 Algiers meeting the non-aligned movement has called for the creation of a new international economic order to solve their problems. As they envision it, the new order would be based on sufficient internal development in each country or economically integrated region so that there might be "equitable" trade between third world countries. In this way, they might reduce their dependency on the industrialized world and become non-aligned economically as well as politically.

The key to the dream is development and improved terms of trade, and for both the movement turned to the developed nations. They sought a "common fund" that could be used to offset price rises, and the opening of a "north-south dialogue" that could improve the basis for meaning-



The non-aligned nations reached an agreement with OPEC to provide funds for developing nations, guarantee supplies and hold prices to the 1976 levels.

ful relief. The dialogue subsequently became institutionalized in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

By the start of this summit, little had resulted from the dialogue and delegates were clearly angry. They termed the most recent UNCTAD meeting a "failure." President Nyrere of Tanzania characterized the West's position as "a tactic to gain time, divide us, and talk us to death."

The dialogue, which seemed like an interesting idea for many in 1973, now had become a necessity. As Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley remarked, "poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, bad

housing and all the awful by-products of underdevelopment press upon us demanding attention, impatient of delay." Manley was hailed when he finished his speech, and heads of state pushed each other aside in an effort to reach out to shake his hand.

In the past the oil producing countries had resisted moves to tap their wealth. Indeed, when Iraq unilaterally announced before the summit that it would turn over money from its surcharges to developing countries in the form of low interest loans, Nigeria bristled that the summit should not focus its attention on oil. But for the developing countries, OPEC was the only

hope left for the creation of a new international economic order.

The agreements reached with OPEC at the summit were seen as the most significant outcome of the meeting. Well informed sources said that the agreements provided that:

- developing countries should be guaranteed "adequate" oil supplies, and that some mechanism be found to hold the price of oil at 1976 levels;
- oil producing countries should invest surplus capital in the third world;
- funds should be made available to undertake research in alternative energy sources.

If implemented, these resolutions could provide the basis for unity within the non-aligned movement and some fundamental re-ordering of the world economy. But it was that very prospect that frightened some of the members. While they acknowledge that the old order must change, they are uncertain about the sort of order they want to replace it. They said frequently that they want strong leadership, but they are also anxious about being led in directions for which they are unprepared. The combined uncertainty and anxiety contributed to an underlying tension at the Havana summit that was most evident in the fight over the seating of a delegation from Kampuchea.

The Kampuchea Fight

Few delegates predicted that this issue would drag on until the last day of the summit. Representatives of the deposed Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime claimed the seat on the grounds that they had represented Kampuchea at the 1976 summit. Supported by Singapore and Yugoslavia, they argued that the Heng Samrin government—which controls the country and also sought the seat—is illegitimate because it came to power with the aid of Vietnamese troops. While no country contradicted the Vietnamese and Cuban assertions that the Pol Pot regime was genocidal and lacked a popular base, a small group strongly criticized Cuba for deciding to seat neither delegation until the conference began. Critics charged that this was not a neutral act, as Cuba claimed, but rather a move to unseat a delegation that Cuba as host was not authorized to make.

Continued on page 18.

IMF suffocates cash-poor nations

Many of the non-aligned nations at the summit expressed a feeling that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) contributes to their economic problems, though many of them depend on it to alleviate their monetary difficulties. Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley discussed the experience of his country with the IMF in an exclusive interview with IN THESE TIMES correspondent Cari Beauchamp in Havana. She asked him what were the "pluses and minuses" of working with the IMF. His answer follows.

Michael Manley:

Well, let's start with the plus. The IMF is still the only source that a foreign exchange starved country can turn to for ready foreign exchange. To the extent that there is foreign exchange that can become available by turning to the IMF if you are in bad trouble, that is a plus.

Our experience after a couple of years is that the IMF officials are extremely hardworking; they work with great sincerity and with great dedication. But what is the framework in which they work? It is a framework that involves a view of economic development that is a strict product of developed economies. The whole concept of market management and demand management, where you squeeze local demands in order to force production into exports is a perfectly good theory if you are working from an economic model in which the factors of production are highly mobile, can be mobilized, where you can increase production and slow down production and divert the direction of production in response to monetary stimuli.



Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley

When you are dealing with a developing country that may not be the problem. The problem may be how to mobilize factors of production at all. How to get a farm community to be capable of using modern technology to produce more. So we question the fundamental relevance of the framework within which the IMF's solutions for our economic problems are conceived.

Secondly, we are very concerned that IMF policy, IMF theology, requires instant adjustments of the economy. If an economy is in serious trouble, the IMF requires very rapid adjustments to achieve a balanced budget and increase your foreign exchange. This involves plunging societies into tremendous periods of social sacrifice and distress for people.

Again, if you have a society that is developed—that is essentially prosperous and has been able to develop social security and unemployment in-

surance—all of this can take up the slack during a period of harsh, sudden adjustment. If you are a very poor country that has not developed this social infrastructure, these sudden changes mean literal suffering, putting people into virtual starvation so as to achieve an economic adjustment. Therefore, our criticism of the IMF is that the whole idea of IMF "conditionality" as they call it, is predicated on a model that is not necessarily relevant to our situation and is predicated on periods of adjustment that call for levels of sacrifice that can be intolerable, that can create profound political instability, to say nothing of suffering.

But if you have been through all of that, and because there is no choice, accepted the conditionality, have done your best to mobilize your people to accept this strain and distress, you then find out that the IMF can't lend you enough foreign exchange to get you out of the crisis and make the sacrifice worthwhile. I can't blame them for that. They themselves complain about this. This is a failure of the international community to make available to the IMF the resources so that having imposed these measures on a population, that they then give you the foreign exchange that provides the oxygen for your system to breathe. In the end, we who have lived through conditionality, find that we do not get enough oxygen to breathe properly. ■

Cari Beauchamp is Executive Director of the National Defense Clearing House in Washington DC and covered the summit for National Public Radio and IN THESE TIMES.

Tom Greenfield

Mr. Coppola's

Never before has an ego taken on the dimensions of an entire war on wide screen. But besides tooting his own horn Coppola has also changed the way movies are made.



"I too was moving up a river in a faraway jungle and hoping for some kind of catharsis."

By Pat Aufderheide

APOCALYPSE NOW IS the biggest, most expensive, most self-important film about the Vietnam War yet. Francis Ford Coppola's film has capped a wave of commercial film on the subject and enters the market at the beginning of a wave of TV treatments. (After *Friendly Fire*, CBS plans two TV films, *Children of An Lac* and *Waiting Out the War*. NBC plans one, *When Hell Was In Session*.)

But *Apocalypse Now* is not just another war film. It's not even just a Vietnam war film. *Apocalypse* is the most ambitious project by America's premier artist in cinema, which is the great American art form. In a word, *Apocalypse* is Art.

But Coppola claims that art imitated life on the set, and the making of the film was like the story the film told. It was "like a war;" it was like the journey upriver for Joseph Conrad's character Marlow; it was like the mad general Kurtz' megalomaniacal control of a mini-world.

The problem with all of this is simple. Somewhere the difference between life and art gets lost. And it becomes easy to make the film's goal a sensation shower rather than to compose sensations so that they can take on a larger meaning.

Coppola is highly taken with the parallels between the film and his life. He claims in the written credits for the film, "I found that many of the ideas and images with which I was working as a film director began to coincide with the realities of my own life, and that I, like Captain Willard, was moving up a river in a faraway jungle and hoping for some kind of catharsis." His wife wrote in her diary, now published as *Notes* (Simon and Schuster), how like Kurtz her husband became: "There is the exhilaration of power in the face of losing everything, like the excitement of war when one kills and takes the chance of being killed."

Everyone seems to have been affected by the parallels between the film and the war, and the film and the story of *Heart of Darkness*. Donna (wife of Michael) Moriarty, who lived on location, said, "for many it was like a tour of duty for many there was the experience of dark brooding, an internal journey into the recesses of one's own mind." It must have become as hard to tell life from art in that Philippine enclave as it was for Coppola's youngest child, who on first sight of the village said, "It looks like the Disneyland Jungle Cruise."

Imitation of Hell.

Who cares if Coppola suffered an identity crisis while making this film? Let's assume something we don't have to—that the filming of this movie was indeed like a war and that Coppola's interior journey was like Marlow's journey up river. Then what? That touch of reality doesn't guarantee the movie will be any more moving. Not every soldier on the front is a poet, and not every nut is a Van Gogh.

But it's an act that sells tickets. Coppola bares his chest and shows us his scars. It's the psychological counterpart to telling us, "This movie cost \$30 million." It becomes almost an alibi to pipe up and say— to the man with the stigmata, "But what does it mean? What did you want to say?"

By putting his agony—and the crew's—into every press release on the film and into the credits information, Coppola tries to draw attention away from the final product and to the process of making it. The process becomes a product in itself, suitable for advertising copy everywhere.

Coppola has drawn others into the same swamp of indecision that plagued him. So busy undergoing his journey of self-discovery that he couldn't decide how to finish the film, he shifted the burden of decision to others. He got Brando to improvise the key part of Kurtz, whose character defines the last part of the film. Once again life—Brando on location—was supposed to create art by happy accident. Finally, Coppola took the film to the public. Both in Hollywood previews and at Cannes he showed a work-in-progress for comments and suggestions.

Art is supposed to imitate life. It is supposed to take the chaotic and meaningless day-to-day mess we live in and shape it, interpret it and shed light on it. But once art is life, it becomes as arbitrary at the personal level as what originally needed to be understood—for instance, the American role in Vietnam. No wonder Coppola couldn't finish the

film. He was acting out an agony that never really ended.

Perhaps a need to explain the stewpot of sensations he cooked up in the first part of the film has made Coppola free with references to high-flown literary works that have been "sources" for his work.

He likes to strike the pose of brooding thinker. He mentions as intellectual founts for his work (besides Conrad) Nietzsche, Jesse Weston (*Ritual to Romance*, on the legends of King Arthur and the Holy Grail), James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, among other things on rituals of regicide) and T.S. Eliot (*The Wasteland*, which Kurtz reads from in the film). This is more books than most filmmakers these days even have in their homes.

Thought and myth.

Has Coppola been reading, thinking and digesting his own Five Foot Shelf? Not necessarily. While on location, he flew in an old college friend (from UCLA film school), a Nietzsche buff whose talk enchanted Coppola and crew. Some of his taped conversations with Brando, in fact, went straight into the film. The briefest contact with Eliot—say, in the Norton Anthology of English Literature—will also lead a browser to Eliot's inspirations: Frazer and Weston. Eliot railed in *The Wasteland* (as elsewhere) against the derivative shallowness of mass culture. Eliot had particularly liked in Weston's work the image of the fisherman in the Grail legends. The fisherman was once powerful, but his impo-

tence or death brought sterility to his kingdom.

Coppola need not have achieved more than an as-told-to understanding of any of the "sources" he gravely cites. It's easy to find in Monarch Notes clues to their common themes—eternal and cyclically recurring myths concerning powerful but decadent heroes of dying civilizations. This is a classy version of John Milius' straightforward *machismo*, a celebration of bygone heroism.

Coppola too wanted to make a myth. He has called *Apocalypse Now* a "film opera" that "could have taken place at any time" because it has an eternal theme—"moral ambiguity."

"What the film says," he explained, "is that we are all straddled between good and evil, that we make each decision as we go along and we always will, that there is no such thing as absolute good and evil." (If there isn't, what are we straddled between?)

Mythmaking may be part of the problem of why a chunk of our lives and our history like Vietnam is so difficult to comprehend. Conrad, the supposed inspiration for the whole project, would have balked at the vague truism that moral ambiguity is eternal. *Heart of Darkness* described a moral problem of a specific time and place—the height of English imperialism in Africa. Kurtz had a philosophy, an exalted version of the white man's burden. He claimed one can "exert a power for good practically unbounded" by appearing to pagan Africans as a deity. But Conrad, through Marlow, criticized Kurtz and showed the

folly of his grandiose thinking, which finally reduced the Africans for Kurtz to "brutes."

Marlow respected Kurtz' charismatic power, but knew it to be empty. Conrad's moral questions were far from eternal. They were specific, and they happened as a result of a style of colonialism, a combination of greed and missionizing.

But Coppola can deflect any such criticism of his film by saying he wanted to show an experience, not to argue a point. As he claimed in the credits, "The most important thing I wanted to do was to create a film experience that would give its audience a sense of horror, of the madness, the sensuousness and the moral dilemma of the Vietnam War." How does he know? Because he has suffered the war on a terrarium scale, in the Philippines.

Ambiguity, moral or otherwise, is not Coppola's strong point. He would like to turn the confusion of history into eternal truisms. He hopes, he says, that the film can explain what Vietnam was "really like" to Americans by sharing the experience of horror with them. If Americans could "look at the heart of what Vietnam was really like... then they would be only one small step away from putting it behind them." This shares with Nixon the attitude that what happened in Vietnam was a mistake, to be put behind us rather than understood. He wants to blow us away—clean us out—with the ultimate cinema experience so that we can re-enter the American inno-

Continued on page 14.

A collection of surreal Vietnam War scenes goes in search of a unifying idea and a way to mourn

By Lynn Garafola

FIVE YEARS IN THE MAKING, at a cost of \$30 million, Francis Ford Coppola's epic of Vietnam has finally reached the screen. *Apocalypse Now* is "film opera" on a grand scale, a work of moral and political judgment. But the film is neither the masterpiece its director set out to make nor the last word on the war. Despite the sweep of its vision, *Apocalypse Now* remains a succession of brilliant war scenes in search of a unifying idea.

Loosely based on Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, *Apocalypse Now* is really two films—a political statement about Vietnam and a quest for knowledge in the form of an adventure story. Martin Sene as Captain Willard takes the role of Conrad's narrator, Marlow. Ordered by Special Forces to "terminate with extreme prejudice"—army jargon for "assassinate"—the renegade Green Beret Colonel Kurtz (Marlon Brando), Willard sets out for Kurtz's Cambodian fiefdom in a journey that reveals to the audience the "darkness" of the Vietnam war.

With *Apocalypse Now*, the horror of the war will not easily be forgotten. Coppola has taken images familiar enough from television footage, and magnified them into an overwhelming vision of slaughter and devastation.

Among the film's most powerful sequences is the destruction of a Viet

Cong village. A model of tranquillity with its schoolchildren and rice paddies, it is levelled by an air cavalry squadron in an orgy of violence. Coppola's operatic sensibility serves him well here. Transformed by the 70mm. screen into monstrous birds of prey, the helicopters swoop down to the accompaniment of Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries." On a smaller scale, there is a shattering echo of My Lai in the massacre of unarmed Vietnamese civilians on a sampan.

Coppola does not hesitate to show American bombers napalming the remains of villages or the imbalance of technology as the Vietnamese counter air strikes with rifles. Nor does he shy from showing the disintegration of the army itself—the low morale, hustling, drugs, and breakdown of discipline. And by contrast with the white ethnic fantasy of *The Deer Hunter*, he graphically depicts the disproportionate numbers of blacks on Vietnam's front lines.

Coppola reserves his greatest scorn for a rough-riding colonel (Robert Duvall) who describes the smell of napalm in the morning as "victory." Enamored of war, with his band of snub-nosed surfers he epitomizes the mentality of the "finest" career officers.

Kurtz symbolizes the logic of Vietnam carried to its ultimate extreme. A third-generation West Pointer, once counted among the army's best and brightest, he now accepts Vietnam's horror as the inner logic of the war. He recounts to Willard the incident that drove him "over the edge." Inoculating the children of a town, he returned to find that the vaccinated arms had been cut off by the Viet Cong. Repelled by the act, he could not but admire the commitment of men able to suspend moral judgments in devotion to a political cause. Now ruling Montagnard tribesmen in white face, Kurtz dispenses death and wisdom with equal ease.

Mystery man.

Coppola's Kurtz is the apotheosis of a system that suppresses humane and moral values. Yet the man himself remains a mystery. E.M. Forster once wrote about Conrad that "he is misty at the center as well as at the edges." In the film, as in the book, the transition of Kurtz from a man obsessed with horror to one obsessed with power remains murky as does the nature of his Jim Jones-like demagogic hold on others. In part, this is the fault of the script. But it is also because Brando himself, so bloated that Coppola shoots him in shadow from the neck up, fails to project that power.

Unlike *The Deer Hunter*, where the American is portrayed as a naïf corrupted by the miasma of Vietnam, Coppola intimates that evil is inherent in the system of which Kurtz is a product. A news clipping of the Manson murders suggests an inner corruption independent of the war and jungle "savagery." The subject of Kurtz's Harvard M.A. thesis—the U.S. suppression of the Philippine insurrection, 1899-1902—reveals a parallel to Vietnam earlier in American history.

Unfortunately, the film's political coherence is purely visual. Worse, it is undermined by the script. Michael Herr, author of *Dispatches*, a collection of war reportage originally published in *Esquire*, is credited with the narration. He brings to it a New Journalism sensibility at odds with the film's apocalyptic vision. What strikes Herr about Vietnam is not the politics of the war or its morality, but the incongruities of its details—a soldier with a peace sign at a USO show or a T-bone steak cookout in a napalmed village. Like his book, Herr's narrative sags under the weight of portentous but meaningless statements like "Vietnam is a pile of bullshit." Similarly, the pretentious quotations from T.S. Eliot toward the end indicate not some profound message, but an exhaustion of the film's intellectual imagination.

Herr's eye for Vietnam's incongruities never rises to a vision of its larger absurdity. Kilgore, for example, obviously conceived as a proto-fascist, is trivialized by casting him at the same time as captain of a squad of surfing cowboys. Effective in an anti-war comedy like *M*A*S*H*, the device jars in a work of a more serious order. Likewise, an acid head photo-journalist, played by Dennis Hopper as a caricature of himself, reduces the high seriousness of Kurtz to pop platitudes.

The penitent.

But it is the character of Willard that represents the film's most problematic element. Remaining true to Conrad, Coppola casts him as the recorder of events; through his rasping voice-overs the horror of Vietnam is relived. But Willard is not a guide—either morally or politically. Without another observer, the film loses a point of reference, an over-arching interpretation. On rest and relaxation in Saigon, he awaits a commission with impatience. He is obsessed with bombings and blood. When first he learns of his assignment, he is drawn to Kurtz because of the similarities between them, just as Marlow is to Kurtz in the novella.

Willard's journey into the heart of

darkness is a quest for knowledge, and the man who returns is changed. But significantly, he grows not in political awareness, but instead undergoes a moral catharsis. In typically Catholic fashion, he is cleansed of past transgressions, including the cold-blooded murder of a woman on the bullet-ridden sampan. Like the characters in *The Deer Hunter*, Willard is exonerated morally for what are ultimately political acts.

Despite its strong visual impact, *Apocalypse Now* leaves its audience remarkably unmoved. In large measure, this is because of Willard. Travelling upstream, he registers sensations with a diffident eye and gazes on death as an outsider to its suffering. A man under orders, he remains throughout impervious to humanity, American as well as Vietnamese.

Questionable as its political perspective may be, *The Deer Hunter* has far greater emotional immediacy. Among Coppola's characters, there are no emotional bonds comparable to those uniting Cimino's protagonists. In *Apocalypse Now*, people die impersonally, victims of a war machine that sends men into battle by radio and returns by helicopter for their corpses. A momentary tear may be shed, but there are neither buddies nor brothers to mourn the loss of life. The audience, like Willard, is called upon to witness events, but at no point is it asked to grieve.

The absence of an emotional center reflects Coppola's own confusion. From its initial conception as an anti-war film, *Apocalypse Now* has gone through many changes. Whatever else may have happened—typhoons, heat prostration, extracurricular romance—the films conflicting themes remain at war with one another and never resolve into a coherent statement.

Coppola's difficulty with the ending attests to this. In polling an L.A. screening audience on how to end the film, Coppola as much as admitted that he had lost control of his material and had reached a creative dead end. As it is, two endings remain. The reserved seat audience now sees Willard returning downstream after killing Kurtz. This fall's mass audience will be treated to another display of American firepower as the final credits roll over the screen.

Like *Hair*, *Apocalypse Now* hoists its anti-war banner too late for peace marches. Yet as the boat people capture headlines, Coppola's vision of the war counters the prevailing tide of national self-exoneration. Whatever its flaws, *Apocalypse Now* lays responsibility for the horrors of Vietnam where it rightfully belongs.



Tom Greenfield

Coppola

Continued from page 13.

cence, free once again of the stains of history.

Technical whiz kid.

Whatever the potholes of the mind in Coppola's vision of hell, the making of this film has changed filmmaking in several ways.

Probably the most impressive of them is technical: the magnificent and innovative sound system that Coppola perfected and patented at his own Zoetrope studios. His "Quintaphonic" system, with three speakers in the front of the theater and two in back, requires special equipment, and so all theaters will not benefit from some aspects of his reverence for the soundtrack as a powerful separate element in the film. But on the soundtrack as elsewhere Coppola was a fanatic for accuracy in detail; and the soundtrack of *Apocalypse Now* has a character of its own.

Coppola can't take solitary credit for discovering the importance of the soundtrack. More than a decade ago Robert Altman was experimenting with overlapping dialog and unmasked background noise. The introduction of eight-track sound systems—each actor wired into a channel with a mini-microphone—made it possible. (*A Wedding* used two eight-track units.) Increasingly filmmakers have used noise-reducing and clarity-enhancing Dolby sound equipment, whose recent innovations require new equipment in the sound mixing studio and also in the theater. Terry Malick's *Days of Heaven* was a dramatic example of the difference Dolby can make; the viewers practically sat down amid the crickets of early evening. The mother ship's low rumble in *Close Encounters* was another example of the heightened psychological effect through better sound.

Coppola can, however, claim credit for an early understanding that sound would be the new dimension for filmmakers to explore. He made sound equipment a central part of Zoetrope, and hired a sound technician—Walter Murch—who became a full collaborator on both Coppola's and George Lucas' films. Zoetrope now has probably the best arrangements for sound mixing in Hollywood. Philip Kaurman's *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* and *The Wanderers* were both mixed at Zoetrope, and the studio is available for a growing network of U.S. and foreign filmmakers who Coppola is cultivating.

Coppola said, however, that *Apocalypse Now* has cured him of technologism. "I used to think technology was the answer," he has said, "but now I know it's money that comes first." *Apocalypse* set new spending standards for a single extravaganza; Coppola has raised the upper limit on what a select few can force a studio to consider within the bounds. Already Michael Cimino is rumored to be edging up on an estimated \$30 million for his new film, *Heaven's Gate*, which, like *Apocalypse*, started out with a \$12 million budget.

This process is familiar: a few spend more, and fewer films are made. Just as important in terms of financial precedent, however, is Coppola's technique for leveraging all the money over the original \$12 million, which came from United Artists. His financing techniques are important to independent filmmakers because he combined a variety of assets and options in order to retain artistic control.

Foreign sales.

A combination of personal mortgages, sales of stocks and of royalties for *Godfather I* and *II* netted Coppola a \$10 million loan from United Artists—which

was in no mood to say goodbye to its original \$12 million because the picture wasn't finished. The rest of the money came almost entirely from deals with foreign distributors. The film was so attractive internationally because of three elements that traditionally guarantee lines at foreign box offices for Hollywood features: 1) action, 2) internationally known stars, 3) an internationally known director. At least \$6 million was raised in foreign presale agreements. It didn't hurt that Coppola made foreign deals with dollars at the then-rate of exchange, when dollars were worth more.

Coppola didn't buy complete artistic freedom by trading his future overseas. The final 35mm prints of the film, that is, those to be seen in the "fly-over" zone (outside N.Y. and L.A.) and overseas, will have a giant napalm explosion to end the film, over which credits will roll. Why? Because foreign distributors found it more "commercially attractive" to have an action-packed ending.

Coppola has also insured that UA now invests heavily in advertising for the most monumental film-in-progress that spanned the 1970s. UA's ad campaign comes to half a million dollars, and is positively presidential. Consulting on the campaign are White House media consultant Gerald Rafshoon and pollster Pat Cadell.

Coppola wanted much more than he got in the way of financial innovation for *Apocalypse Now*. He tried to break the policy of blind bidding by showing exhibitors the film before they bid. Usually between 60 and 90 percent of the films theater owners place bids on with distributors are films about which they have only the sketchiest of information. Distributors like it that way, and exhibitors hate buying a pig in a poke.

But when Coppola showed exhibitors *Apocalypse Now*, they had the same reaction as they had when shown *Godfather I* and *II*—general panic at the film's murkiness and lack of faith in its box office possibilities. Thus Coppola's best intentions only confirmed the distributors' worst fears.

The decade-long project of *Apocalypse Now* may have changed more than film making and film financing. It will also have cross-cultural effects as a result of the product. Coppola's crew set up shop, with more money and more equipment than any of the locals had ever seen, in a Philippine tourist village for months. The long range effect on the economy was less like growth than like cancer.

They hired a tribe, the Ifugao, who until recently were still headhunters, to play the Montagnards. The Ifugao taught the crew certain rituals, which promptly were engulfed into the film. The crew in turn acquainted the Ifugao with a selective version of Western culture. Depressingly enough, one of the special requests of a young Ifugao girl from a departing crew member was for his cassette tape of John Denver's collected hits.

No matter how spectacular *Apocalypse Now* became, Coppola was able consistently to dream bigger than it. He has, it seems, been incapable of limiting himself to it. He is in good company.

Orson Welles originally planned, for his debut film at RKO, not *Citizen Kane*—what he ended up doing—but *Heart of Darkness*. He wanted to play both Kurtz and Marlow, which he had already done on the radio.

Conrad's novella has attracted the boy-wonders of different eras in Hollywood. This is a parallel that may mean more than all the parallels Coppola has mentioned put together. Let's hope Francis Ford Coppola doesn't end up murmuring portentous nothings on Paul Masson commercials, instead of in his own megaprojects. ■

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

OIL DID IT?

THE SOURCES OF BLACK-JEWISH TENSIONS are simple—or at least so we're told in the editorials and articles of *ITT*. (Juda, John Judis tells us (*ITT*, Sept. 5), approvingly quoting a black trade unionist, have made it into the middle class so now they're deserting their former allies. But surely Judis knows that Jews made it into the middle class long before black-Jewish tensions erupted in the '60s. If Judis was better informed, he would have known that those Jews who have made it are still most likely to be sympathetic to black causes, however distorted. In Israel the poorer Oriental Jews, who have lived with, or rather under, the Arabs are most hostile to the Palestinians, similarly in the U.S. the poor and elderly urban Jews, those forced to live day to day in fear of black violence, something never mentioned by Judis, are least likely to be sympathetic to black separatism. Their all too legitimate fears can only be heightened by a politics that instead of focusing on points of common interest like full employment legislation, seems to link and even legitimate violence against Jews at home and abroad. These symbolic connections have been made palpable time and again here at home in the case of the Black Muslims, the Hanafi Muslim attack on B'nai Brith Headquarters, and the recent violent promises, some would say actions, of New York's Reverend Daughtry.

The other egregious omission concerns the none too subtle blandishments being offered to money starved black organizations by both the Arab bankers and the American oil companies. Are the repeated assertions of Jesse Jackson, among others, about the need to bow before the inevitable power of Arab oil of no importance? When the SCLC's Lowery talks of Arab aid is this of no significance to the current tensions? This unwillingness to discuss the relationship between oil money and black politics here in America is strikingly paralleled by a similar unwillingness to discuss the relationship between the PLO and the Arab oil powers. In both cases a journal that prides itself, usually with good cause, on dissecting the malign influences of big capital has turned a blind eye to what is obvious to other observers.

—Fred Siegel
Brooklyn, NY

John Judis replies:

In my article, I tried to let both sides speak for themselves. I did not endorse the comment on middle class Jews that Siegel cites, which incidentally was not from a black trade unionist. But Siegel evidently thinks I should have adopted his perspective on the black-Jewish conflict. Let me make some comments on this perspective:

1) It is true that in Israel the poorer Oriental Jews are the least sympathetic to the Palestinians—and, for that matter, to socialism. But in the U.S., much of Jewish socialism, radicalism, and liberationism emanated from Jews in the labor movement. Much of black-Jewish conflict has been the form of ethnic group conflict between black and middle class Jews. The Jews are not suddenly becoming more class conscious in 1967; nor has their class consciousness been the most important factor in recent black-Jewish conflicts, it has been the other.

2) Siegel implies that recent black

statements on the Mideast "legitimate violence against Jews." He should be aware that the positions announced by *PUSH*, the SCLC, and the NAACP are no different from positions espoused within Breira, the American Jewish organization that was finally hounded to death by B'nai Brith et al. Breira, along with Israeli doves like retired Gen. Matti Peled, called for talks between Israel and the PLO, leading toward a Mideast settlement that would ensure Palestinian and Israeli national rights. Equating this position with that of the Hanafi Muslims, as Siegel slyly does, is like equating the pronouncements of the American Jewish Committee with the acts of the Jewish Defense League.

3) I did mention the prospect of Arab financial help to black organizations in my report on the Aug. 24 black leadership meeting (*Inside Story*, Sept. 19). But Siegel suggests that blacks are simply offering their opinions up to the highest bidder. In the past, some black organizations did not refrain from making their opinions on Palestinian rights known because of their ties to Jewish organizations and also because of substantial Jewish financial contributions. Others did not refrain. The prospect of Arab money may have made some of them willing to make their real sentiments known. More likely, it was the anger over Bakke and Andrew Young. If Siegel's opinion of black integrity is correct, the South Africans should have tried to buy the Urban League instead of the Washington Star.

JEWIS AND BLACKS

JOHN JUDIS (*ITT*, SEPT. 5) REPORTED the least significant part of the story I related to him about the black-Jewish meeting in Detroit.

Judis wrote: "In Detroit, the SCLC called a meeting with Jewish leaders, but the SCLC's presentation of a resolution on Palestinian rights, along with the presence of an Arab-American representative, prompted a walkout by the Jewish representatives."

Omitted is the crucial fact that, after the meeting, the Jewish representatives received a telegram from the SCLC local leaders that read: "The meeting and press conference held on Aug. 17 at the SCLC was done without the knowledge of the Michigan Chapter president, Dr. Calud Young or national president, Dr. Joseph Lowery...Further, we hereby issue our apology and regret for any embarrassment or misunderstanding that may have occurred."

The meeting from which the Jewish representatives walked out had been stacked to provoke such a situation rather than to bring about better mutual understanding. To omit such vital information is to add fuel to the fire.

—Morris U. Schappes
New York, N.Y.

MEXICAN OIL SPILL

THE TWO ARTICLES ON MEXICO (*ITT*, Sept. 12) were more significant for what they omitted than what they said.

The Environmental Protection agency was quoted as saying that water along the Texas coast contained small amounts of oil. No mention was made of the deposit of a solid, six foot wide, 80 mile long strip of oil on Texas beaches. This contamination cut the normally booming

Labor Day tourist trade by 50 to 80 percent and has already resulted in a \$150 million damage suit by affected fishermen.

Also the preparation of a damage suit by Texas' Attorney General was mentioned. No mention was made of the fact that the Attorney General is a politically ambitious Democrat and that state governor Bill Clements is founder and owner of SEDCO, the company that owned the platform from which Ixtoc I was drilled. Not surprisingly Clements is showing little enthusiasm for damage suits since his company could be liable for millions. Just in case there might be incriminating evidence, SEDCO towed the platform out to sea and sank it in waters so deep that it cannot be examined.

In discussing PEMEX and the Mexican government "investigation" of the accident it should be noted that the head of PEMEX, Diaz Serrano, is also the founder of Permargo, the private Mexican company that leased the platform from SEDCO and then subleased it to PEMEX.

In the article on Mexican-American relations, the statement that "the Mexican government has had to adopt the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of its population as its own," could hardly be more misleading. The prices the Mexican government charges for oil have little to do with the aspirations of the Mexican people. One only need remember that the Shah also charged OPEC prices. The degree to which the Mexican government has ignored the aspirations of its people is indicated by a cursory examination of malnutrition levels, the amount of unemployment and underemployment (perhaps half the labor force), and the distribution of income (one of the worst in Latin America.)

—Philip Russell
Austin, Tx

PORTUGAL'S SOCIALISTS

I REGRET THAT *ITT*'S EDITING OF MY article on the Portuguese Socialists (*ITT*, July 11) minimized or eliminated the following important points. First the Portuguese Communist Party is *not* a Eurocommunist party. It makes no pretense to be. It is critical of the French, Spanish and Italian parties for their (relative) independence from Moscow and for their endorsement of traditional democratic political rights and freedoms. (Recall PCP leader Cunha's celebrated interview with the Italian journalists, Oriana Fallaci, for the essential Stalinist thinking of the party. In fact, an *ITT* reprinting of that interview, along with my interview of Mario Soares—which *ITT* declined to print—would make a nice contrast and let *ITT* readers draw their own conclusions.) No wonder the Socialists hesitate to consider a union of the left strategy in Portugal. Second, at their March Congress, the Portuguese Socialists adopted a lengthy program for the next decade which in analysis and prescription is neo-Marxist democratic socialist. It clearly goes well beyond the tone and intent of, for example, that quintessential European social democratic party, the British Labour Party. Third, the Portuguese Socialists are committed to bridge-building to Third World liberation movements. Here they resemble the Swedish Socialists. (I also regret that the section dealing with the Swedish Socialists' international solidarity activities similarly was cut from my article on them in *ITT*, October 25-31, 1978.) Thus Olof Palme led a Socialist International delegation to Southern Africa in the fall of 1977, and Mario Soares a spring 1978 Socialist International mission to Latin America. In that same spirit, the recent Portuguese Socialist Congress included not only the traditional SI fraternal delegates and observers from the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, but also observers from a diverse (and sometimes

controversial) number of countries and movements including Namibia, Zimbabwe, North Yemen, Syria, Eritrea, and—the PLO. This international stance, along with the party's newly-defined programmatic commitment, shows the Portuguese Socialist case to be more complex, more in evolution than the final cut version of my article indicated.

—Nancy Lieber
Davis, Co.

THE BEST

ALTHOUGH I HAVE DISAGREEMENTS with *ITT* at times, I feel it is the finest weekly left of Center publication available in the U.S. There are some excellent non-sectarian monthly publications such as: *The Progressive*, *Dollars & Sense*, and *Democratic Left*, but no other weekly aside from *In These Times*.

ITT seems to have few blinders as to activity of the American democratic left and reports it all. I am a person situated in a small town rural area of Tennessee who gets very little news of the left in the dailies available to me. *ITT* is always read and absorbed within 60 hours of its arrival at my home.

As a religious person, I also appreciate *ITT*'s treatment of religious issues. So many sectarian leftists treat religious issues with hostility or indifference. *ITT* gives good positive and objective coverage.

—Name withheld
Morlin, Tenn.

DISCO, DISCO, DISCO

ITT (AUG. 29) PUBLISHED TWO ARTICLES on disco—"Anatomy of an anti-disco riot" and "Disco-disco—Do ya think it's funky"—neither of which address Disco as a cultural style. McLeese's article on the anti-disco riot at Comiskey Park too easily dismisses the significance of repetition in disco music, while Smucker's suggestion that disco should be associated with 'transcendent ecstasies,' 'communal values,' and 'previously promiscuous energies,' is obtuse.

As a cultural phenomenon, disco is first of all theater—style and pose are everything. Sheer appearance, cut, framed, and fragmented by flashing light, is the whole of a world in which singular personality dissolves into a montage of isolated streamlined gestures. Pose and gesture, moreover, are the beginnings of seduction and desire. For a brief moment an image beckons, only to disappear in the wake of a second image; there is no reality to sate desire in the disco world, only an endless striving after appearances. Disco is a dramatic metaphysic which challenges and negates the existence of substance and self.

Because all is appearance, everything is permitted on the disco dance floor. There are no taboos, because the violation of taboo is only mimicry. Sadism, bondage, and the explicit display of sexual power all become a matter of style, a strutting and manneristic way of posing oneself in the disco theater. Disco creates the aura of breaking convention because it stylizes the unconventional, reducing what is taboo to a mere form of appearance; void of reality, the disco dancer's dispute with convention is sterile and artificial.

—Robert J. Williams
Somerville, MA.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

MARIA SCHULTZ

Sexual harassment and discrimination is a growing issue

"RAYMOND DUVALL, A POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSOR, offered to give me an 'A' in his course if I would go to bed with him and gave me a 'C' when I refused," Pamela Price said at a press conference at San Francisco Aug. 13 where she announced she is appealing a decision against her issued by Federal District Judge Ellen Burns July 2. *Price vs. Yale* is the first sexual harassment suit brought against any school under Title IX of the 1972 Equal Education Amendment, which prohibits sex discrimination in federally funded education. Filed in 1977, the suit charged Yale University's lack of a grievance procedure to deal with complaints of sexual harassment of students by faculty constitutes sex discrimination. The argument is that students who are sexually harassed by professors are denied equal access to educational resources. Since the overwhelming majority of professors are male, most cases involve women students, but the legal argument applies to all students who are harassed by faculty.

In cases like Price's, where academic reprisals follow a woman's refusal to submit to the sexual advance of a professor who has institutionalized authority over her, the discriminatory effect is most obvious. But discrimination also occurs when harassment takes more subtle forms and there are no direct reprisals.

Individual responses to harassment—like avoiding further interaction with the professor, dropping courses, changing majors or even dropping out of school—function to exclude women from equal education. The thrust of Price's suit, then is that Yale's failure to protect its students from sexual harassment by denying them any procedural recourse is a violation of Title IX.

This legal point was upheld by the court's decision, which acknowledged "Yale University had no...procedures to provide for resolution of such complaints" when Price first made her grievance known to a Yale dean in 1976, and that this violates Title IX. Since the suit was filed, Yale has taken steps to develop a procedure for future cases of sexual harassment, primarily because of the public and legal pressure brought to bear by the suit and the campaign in its support. Although Yale in this way tacitly acknowledged the validity of Price's argument, last month Judge Burns found in favor of the university. Her decision concluded Price was not adversely affected by the absence of procedure and moreover "the alleged incident of sexual proposition did not occur."

The suit, which was originally filed by five women, first ran into difficulties in December 1977, when Magistrate Arthur Latimer refused to certify it as a class action. He knocked out all five of the original plaintiffs, one of whom, Ronni Alexander, charged that the Yale band director had raped her. But since Alexander and some of the other plaintiffs had graduated and some had no personal harassment grievances, Latimer ruled that their cases were invalid. He did find, however, that sexual harassment is sex discrimination in education, setting an important precedent. He also ruled that Price, who had just joined the suit as the sixth plaintiff, could sue Yale under Title IX. "When Magistrate Latimer refused to certify the class," Price said, "his primary reason was that whatever the court did for me, they would also do for women at Yale. What he neglected to say was that if they did nothing for me, they would do nothing for women at Yale."

After the case was transformed from a

class action into an individual lawsuit, a series of additional rulings further limited its scope. Burns, granting a motion made by Yale's defense attorneys, prevented the plaintiff from even mentioning other instances of sexual harassment at Yale. "On at least five occasions," Price said, "the judge reprimanded my lawyer for even daring to speak the names of the original plaintiffs." Thus the suit's original aim, to prove that Yale University condoned "A pattern, practice and policy" of sexual harassment, could not be pursued in the trial. "We lost the wrong case," said Ann Simon, Price's attorney. "Judge Burns did not allow any evidence that would have shown that Yale discriminates against women. Her decision is vulnerable to attack on appeal for that reason."

Price believes that the fact that she is black heavily influenced the court's decision under these circumstances. "By focusing on individuals rather than Title IX," she said, "the judge reduced the case to a black woman's accusation and a white man's denial. The key issue during the trial became credibility." She added, "I entered this case primarily because I am a woman and lost it primarily because I am a black woman."

Despite the fact that she lost this round, Price's suit has helped to galvanize the growing movement against sexual harassment among women students and workers all around the country. For example, women at the University of California at Berkeley recently formed an organization to work around this issue. "When we discovered that no adequate grievance procedure existed for pursuing complaints of sexual harassment, it was the example of Pamela Price and those Yale students who supported her that convinced us to form Women Organized Against Sexual Harassment," said Merle Weiner, a WOASH member.

WOASH was formed in November around the case of a sociology professor who has been charged with sexual harassment of six women students. The group first presented the women's complaints to departmental and university

administrators, but they were not pleased with the response. The university's inaction spurred 29 WOASH members to file a complaint with the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights charging that UC Berkeley, like Yale, was in violation of Title IX for its failure to protect women students from sexual harassment. The group also publicized the charges (refusing, however, to release the name of the professor involved) and launched an educational campaign about sexual harassment on campus.

In response to public pressure and the threat of losing its federal funding pending the outcome of HEW's investigation, the UC Berkeley administration has begun to respond to WOASH's demands. A University investigator has been appointed to look into the charges made against the professor and the administration has opened negotiations with WOASH about a grievance procedure to handle future complaints of sexual harassment. Currently there are no student grievance procedures of any kind at the school.

WOASH is pleased with the progress it has made and believes as a result of its activity there has been "a decrease in the incidence of sexual harassment at Berkeley." Weiner said, "professors now know that they can't get away with it anymore and women students feel they don't have to endure sexual harassment as their burden for having educational or career aspirations."

Women workers also have been bringing forward increasing numbers of complaints of sexual harassment in recent years. A number of courts have ruled that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits sex discrimination in employment, also prohibits sexual harassment. The landmark case here was that of Diane Williams, a former Justice Department employee who charged that she had been fired for rejecting her boss' advances. In 1976 a federal court of ap-

peals awarded her \$16,000 in back pay. Along with the numerous lawsuits, the efforts of organizations like the Boston-based Alliance Against Sexual Coercion and the Working Women United Institute in New York City have been crucial in the development of a movement against sexual harassment of women workers.

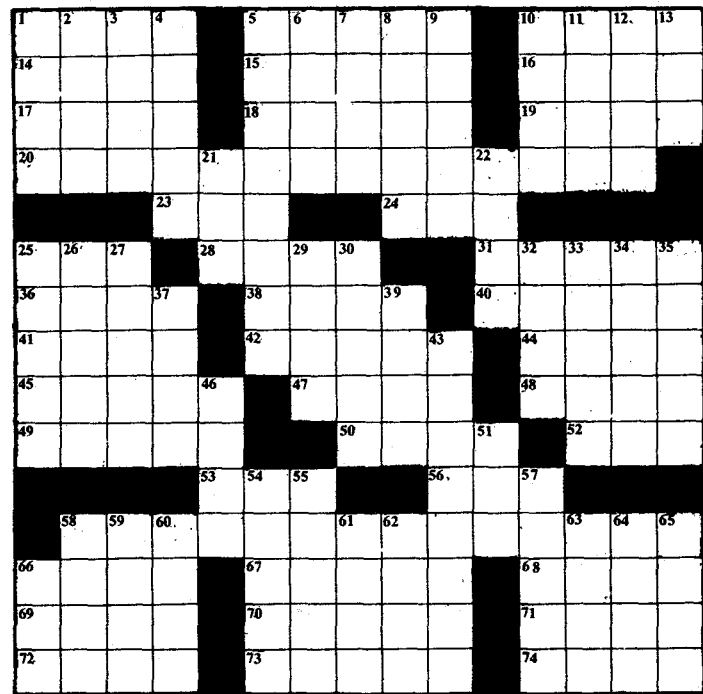
Reports of sexual harassment have increased greatly in recent years as the organizational activity around the issue has escalated. "Women all over the country are now coming forward with their complaints, breaking the debilitating fear and isolation that have rendered sexual harassment invisible for so long," said Linda Hoagland, who has been an activist at Yale for the past three years.

It is possible that sexual harassment has actually occurred more frequently in recent years, as part of a larger anti-feminist backlash. But the same problem of interpretation arises here as in evaluating the apparent rise in rape and wife-battery—increased incidence, or just increased reporting? Sexual harassment is certainly not new, and surveys suggest it is widespread. For example, 70 percent of the respondents in a survey conducted by the Working Women United Institute in 1976 said they had experienced unwanted sexual advances of various kinds on the job.

Women who speak out against sexual harassment are often not believed and may suffer reprisals beyond any injury already done to them. But as more women join Pamela Price in confronting their harassers and the institutions that condone sexual harassment, the situation may change. "If it says nothing else," said Price about the recent negative decision in her case, "it tells me and all women who have been victimized by sex discrimination to be quiet and tell nothing of our outrage and suffering. We have decided to appeal because it must be clearly understood, on the threshold of the 1980s, that women will not be still or quiet."

10 Years After

By David Mermelstein



ACROSS

- 1 Treaty or talks
5 Locks
10 Author: *A Death in the Family*
14 Yesterday in Cannes
15 Concerning timepieces: Abbr.
16 Pete or Billy
17 Concept
18 Scoundrel
19 Geometric form
20 Deceased woman in the news
23 Use a needle
24 Resort
25 Draft org.
28 Sentence period
31 Type of wagon
36 Gem
38 Found at the top, for some
40 Scary
41 Hilly city
42 Filled the piggy
44 Costa _____
45 Something plighted
- 47 Former baseballer Sam
48 Done with
49 Assert
50 Select Committee-man Sam
52 Sea eagle
53 Take it on the ---
56 Found in the sky?
58 Where she died
66 Poky
67 Is disillusioned
68 Land without music?
69 Shine's companion
70 Destroy
71 Vehicle weight
72 Imitated
73 Ravi's instrument
74 School child's answer

DOWN

- 6 Chess piece
7 Therefore
8 Pea and tomato
9 Nap
10 Stiff
11 Scab
12 Olden days slave
13 Shoe size
21 New York player
22 Boston's resort (with "the")
25 What mail room worker does
26 Tennis, e.g.
27 Asian island
29 Travel some
30 Relocated
32 Space prefix
33 Motor
34 Kitchen worker
35 Ache
37 Baltic people
39 Indian fair
43 One who hates
46 Cry of alarm
51 Kept out of sight
54 Building recesses
55 New Zealand aborigines
57 Archie's wife
58 Type of joint
59 Leg wear
60 Was in fear of
61 Four, in prescriptions
62 Major or Minor
63 Dies ----
64 Historian E.H. ----
65 Body hinge
66 Cousine to Mme.

The answer to the previous puzzle was:



2000 BOOKS FOR A BUCK

Has the local Walgreen's run out of your favorite reading matter? Then browse by mail, courtesy of **Modern Times Bookstore**. Our brand-new 96-page catalog is the largest collection of non-sectarian Marxist and feminist literature outside of *Modern Times* itself. Includes gay liberation, Afro-American and labor history, anti-nuclear literature, non-sexist non-racist children's books—and everything else you'd expect. Carefully annotated, coherently organized. All for \$1 (credited to first purchase, of course).

MODERN TIMES
3800 17th St. — Box A
San Francisco, CA 94114

THE ROAD TO 1980

Left city politics must focus on working and poor people's interests



Ken Cockrel, Detroit's independent socialist city council member

Al DiFranco

By Ken Cockrel

Ken Cockrel, 40, was elected by 160,000 voters to a four year term on the Detroit City Council in 1977. He has been a socialist since before his service as part of the leadership of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the late 1960s. He is a member of the Executive Board of DARE, the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy.

For years, activists around the country have scrutinized Detroit, searching for signs of political development pointing to a socialist future.

Automobile production, the nation's bellweather industry, has made Detroit the site of struggles between behemoths like General Motors and Ford and the large and resourceful United Auto Workers.

Since the turn of the century, the city and the surrounding region have attracted new workers from all over the world, particularly black workers from the South. This recruitment, coupled with aging and accelerating disinvestment, has created a city of approximately 1.3 million persons, better than 60 percent black, that is besieged by all the problems of urban decay.

At the same time, openings have been made for progressive action. Twice in the past decade socialists, who are now members of the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy (DARE), have been elected to public office in the city. In 1972, Justin Kavita was elected to a ten year term as a judge at Recorder's Court, Detroit's criminal bench. In 1977, I won a four year term on the Detroit City Council, elected city-wide.

This involvement in electoral activity provides a range of opportunities in the 1980s to build the kind of local organization that is essential if a reinvigorated national left is to emerge in the next decade.

A national progressive movement has begun to cohere around the crucial

issues of economic stagnation and inflation. We in Detroit are acutely aware that plant closings and relocations, and withering inflation in health care costs, housing, energy, and food are especially destructive to poor and working people. We also believe that the urban impact of these national issues is creating a fertile field of opportunity for a coherent left.

In the late 1970s, those who make the major private and public investment decisions have coped with the domestic economy in ways that may become politically vulnerable in the 1980s.

Born-again economic classicists have called for lean government, tax limitation, and the unfettering of Adam Smith's invisible hand. On the other, large corporate capital exploits uneven regional development and the nation's crazy quilt political geography by coercing huge public subsidies for "private" development.

This is dangerous terrain.

The Congress begins to question Revenue Sharing. CETA funds and their use by cities are cut back. Federal fiscal assistance to cities impacted by severe unemployment is threatened. And suddenly, for the first time since the Great Depression, municipal default is back on the front pages.

At the same time government at all levels is being asked to subsidize profit making activity for entrepreneurs who no longer can afford laissez-faire economics. Apart from such celebrated instances as Lockheed and the current Chrysler appeal, cities are increasingly being drafted to a one-sided partnership with the corporations.

Detroit is being offered as the prototypical example of a city whose political leadership is astute enough to see the wisdom of this "new" coalition, which of course means that Detroit's poor and working people are increasingly being asked to tolerate an abominable decline in essential services as tax incentives are extended to private developers for downtown projects with little, if any, economic benefits for

ordinary folks.

In Detroit, the 1980s will require concentration of the majority of our resources on organizing a resistance to the local manifestations of the national strategy of shifting the burden of the "anti-inflationary" fight onto the backs of the urban working population, employed and unemployed.

At the City Council table this means continued efforts to oppose tax giveaways to private developers. It means opposition to the use of Community Development Block Grant funds to benefit private development projects that promise scant returns for low and moderate income people. It means that City government should use its resources to ensure that low income residents are not discarded when older neighborhoods are targeted for "revitalization" projects that change the economic character of the community and make it impossible for the residents to compete with the returning gentry who are rediscovering the advantages of city life in the 1980s—with an assist from fuel shortages, energy costs, higher suburban construction costs, high mortgage rates, and the like.

It means that City government can no longer regard certain classes of city employees as immune from the consequences of the fiscal crunch. Public protection employees, police and fire personnel particularly, have enjoyed an elite status as regards job security, pensions and pay that cannot be perpetuated at the expense of other equally vital services.

It means that the scandalous conditions of housing for poor people has to become a more urgent concern than the high visibility downtown projects that provide luxury apartments at stratospheric rents to the "quiche-eaters" while thousands of applicants wait to get into public housing projects, which are in a woeful state of disrepair.

The litany is, of course, familiar, and similar refrains can be heard across the land.

In the 1980s, the economic elite and their collaborators in government must be taught that the political bill for their programs will come due.

Our electoral success in Detroit has been of immeasurable assistance to us in

deepening our access to the people, the most vital resource in this mobilization process. Our victories at the ballot box have also thrust us into the heart of a profound economic debate about the future of a key American city.

As DARE concludes its first year and prepares for the next decade, we are mindful of the dangers brought by hard times but optimistic about progressive prospects.

As a city-wide, multi-racial, community based organization with socialist leadership, DARE believes that the urban populism of the later 1970s can become the essential urban core of a popular left movement in the 1980s. We anticipate the emergence of many city-based organizations that combine electoral clout with direct action, political education, and community organizing.

To reach our true potential, organizations such as DARE must be rooted in the politics of daily life in urban America. We who must fight to survive must survive to fight. The prospects for a mass socialist politics in the 1980s will be effected profoundly by how local administrations spend CETA and CDBG funds, how health care is delivered or withheld, how the urban tax burden is levied, and what kind of "job creation" is backed to cope with deepening disinvestment. The left must have programmatic alternatives to the continuing liberal and illiberal administration of the urban crisis if we are to build much in the near future.

Working class and poor citizens are and will remain the urban majority, and our needs and common interest must be placed centerstage in the city politics of the next decade. DARE believes that this can best occur at present through independent local organization. The convenient banner of "anti-corporate economic democracy" has gathered impressive troops as the decade turns. All of us will soon be discovering if there is among us a common sense of direction which will make possible a long march through the 1980s.

There is an answer to the problems posed by the unchecked power of the corporations, and that is collective control of investment decisions, or, by another name, socialism.

A guide to America's most energy-independent cities and towns . . .

(. . . and how yours can join the list).

Energy— Efficient Community Planning

A Guide To Saving Energy
And Producing Power
At The Local Level.

James Ridgeway

Author James Ridgeway has been widely praised for his perceptive writings on energy issues. An earlier book, *The Last Play* "is filled with more insights and information about the so-called energy crisis than any other book . . . It towers above everything else on the subject!" (*Saturday Review*). His other books include *The Closed Corporation*, *Politics of Ecology*, and *New Energy*. Ridgeway is the founder of the Public Resource Center in Washington, D.C.

Please send ☐ copies at \$9.95 each.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make check payable to IN THESE TIMES. Add 50¢ postage and handling for each copy and send to: IN THESE TIMES, 5615 W. Cermak Road, Cicero, IL 60650.

Havana Summit

Continued from page 11.

from condemnation by the summit. Cuban leadership potentially diminishes the central role Nigeria wants to play in African politics.

Consensus was reached on a compromise to keep the seat vacant, and to create a commission to study the matter, which delegates interpreted as a victory for Cuba and Vietnam. However, the importance of the conflict went beyond the immediate impact on the Heng Samrin government, which can now move more readily to claim the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations.

Cuban Leadership.

It was in this connection that the countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) supported the Pol Pot delegation. Led by Singapore, they used the Kampuchea issue as a means of trying to discredit Cuba's leadership. These countries fear a new order that would undermine the trading and debt structures into which they are locked with Japan, the United States and Great Britain. The ASEAN members also joined with Yugoslavia and Nigeria to lead a small group of countries in a failed effort to weaken the coordinating bureau. They tried to add three vice chairmen, to replace the bureau with an annual plenary meeting of foreign ministers, and to permit any non-aligned country full participation in bureau decision-making—which would have enabled them to stack bureau meetings and prevent a "consensus."

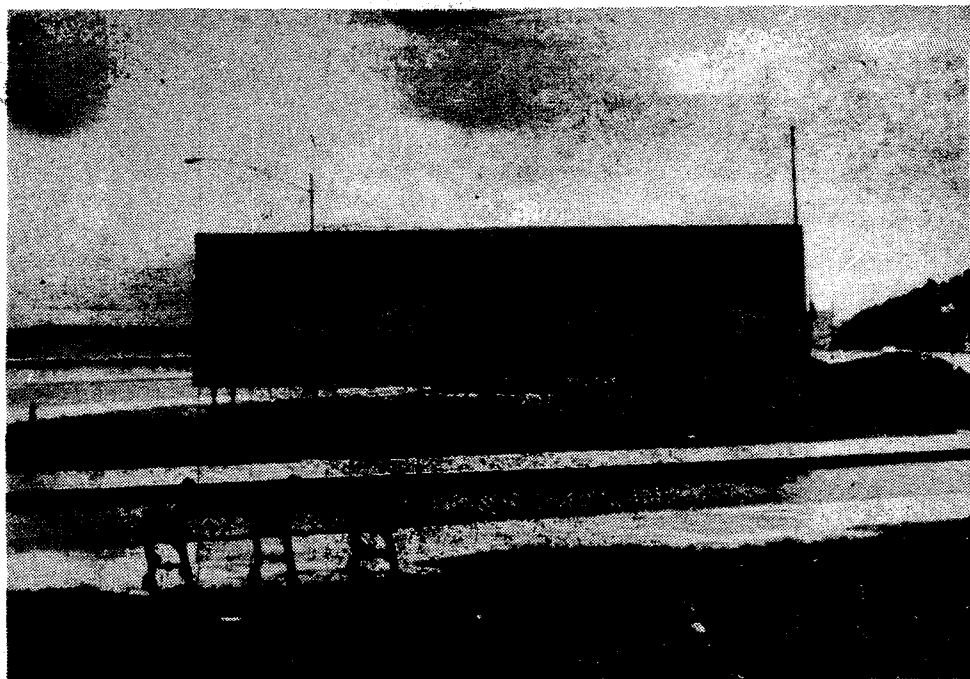
Yugoslavia opposed Cuba because of its understandable, and almost irrational, fear of the Soviet Union. There may have been even personal resentment on Presi-

dent Tito's part that his leadership of the movement was being usurped by Fidel, though the Cubans provided a grand welcome for the Yugoslav president, headlined his arrival in *Granma*, the Communist Party newspaper, and graciously acknowledges his founding role in the plenary meeting.

Ultimately, Yugoslavia may fear a strong movement because a new international economic order might undo its own trade patterns. As a relatively developed country, it has been able to do for itself what the other countries would like to do—balance pressures from the East and West, and walk a non-aligned path.

In Nigeria's case, there may have been more than oil at stake. It may have been a party to secret agreements between the Patriotic Front and Egypt. According to one well placed source at the summit, these agreements were established a month before the conference, and may have been influenced by the United States, which sought to save the Camp David accords from condemnation by the summit. Cuban leadership potentially diminishes the central role Nigeria wants to play in African politics.

Indeed, Cuba's presence in Africa was widely endorsed. Robert Mugabe, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, for example declared that Cuba's "struggle against imperialism, fascist puppet rule, naked aggression cannot but fill those of us still locked in combat against colonial domination with admiration." Prime Minister Manley was cheered as he declared: "The balance of power and opportunity was altered positively and irrevocably in Africa during those fateful



Sign opposite U.S. interests section in Havana reads "Contra el sionismo" (Against Zionism).

days when Cuban comrades helped their African brothers to inflict the first military defeat upon the racist army of South Africa. On behalf of millions of black people who were scattered in the African diaspora we record our appreciation."

The Cubans are aware that despite the non-aligned movement's united and repeated denunciation of "imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism including Zionism, and apartheid," it has a fragile solidarity on the substantive development of a new international economic order. President Castro attempted to assuage fears that the economic non-alignment that Cuba was promoting would force the members "to sacrifice your legitimate interests." He also derided Western allegations that Cuba was attempting to drive the movement into the Soviet sphere, or that it would push countries in a direction they opposed. "Yes, we are radical revolutionaries," he declared in

his inaugural address, "but we don't try to impose our radicalism on anyone, much less on the non-aligned movement. No one except the movement itself can determine what it should do and when and how to do

If Cuba can lead the non-aligned movement to a point where it has achieved some degree of unity on substantive issues, it will have gone very far. The movement might be thought of as a coalition or usually competitive interest groups that have joined together on common issues. Any meaningful step that encourages them to discard narrow self interest and focus on common interests will have profound consequences.

Gino Lofredo contributed material to this story. Phil Brenner directs the Ph.D. Program at the Institute for Policy Studies and is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Maryland Baltimore County.

BART

Continued from page 7.

ferred a variety of negative responses, ranging from "totally unreasonable" to "usually I'm on the side of the workers but I'm not here" to "the union should be disbanded and the workers fired."

BART management is please to note that it, not the unions, has public support. Varacalli disagrees that public opinion is against the unions. Varacalli said BART management is using the standard tactic of dividing workers with "the old jealousy routine." Management, Varacalli maintains, is pitting BART workers who have a cost-of-living clause against workers who have weaker contracts. Other workers, Varacalli said, "especially those with no unions at all, have been told 'why should you be getting less when these people are

getting more.' It ought to be the reverse. It ought to be 'why aren't you getting as much as they are because it's a decent kind of protection against inflation.'"

Negotiations to end the shutdown are stalled over the cost-of-living clause. BART management is holding to its demand for complete elimination of the quarterly COLA. Bernard said dropping the COLA from the BART contract would not establish a precedent. He cited transit systems in three other cities (San Diego, Calif., Portland, Ore., and Birmingham, Ala.) where COLA's for workers have been rolled back or suspended for a limited period. The unions say they have offered several compromises, including a moratorium on the COLA for the first year of a new contract. But management, according to Varacalli, "remains inflexible." Besides rejecting contract changes offered by the unions, BART management has refused to submit the dispute to outside arbitration.

Meanwhile, despite optimism expressed by both sides that BART will be back on track soon, commuters are grumbling as they try to get to work on their own.

Helen Mickiewicz, a free-lance writer from San Francisco, is the former news director at Pacifica Radio KPFA at Berkeley, Calif.

UAW

Continued from page 3.

less, then 35 cents an hour less, for the same periods, and they will not get the money back. Also, new works now will be ineligible for hospital and medical benefits or sickness and accident benefits for the first three months, when a reduced schedule of benefits applies until the end of their first year of work.

G.M. appears to hope that this schedule, plus the work of a union-management National Committee on Attendance, will help cut down absenteeism, in addition to saving costs.

For the first time, production workers will take part in a stock ownership plan. Although modest by comparison with the salaried workers' plan, union members would receive stocks purchased with certain federal tax credits on new investment that will be held by a trust fund. They can also voluntarily put a limited amount of money—which the company will match—into G.M. stock.

"New technology."

The current agreement on "technological progress" was revised slightly to strengthen the union position that new technology, especially computerized systems, should not take away work from the blue-collar bargaining unit. A joint, six-member National Committee on Technological Progress was also established. It will meet monthly to review disputes, but it has no real power to act.

The agreement on technology was "very limited and inadequate, but at least something was negotiated and it does specifically mention computer technology," one source close to the bargaining said. Since the UAW typically adds "frosting to the cake" in its second round of contract talks, there is the chance that the Ford contract will include stronger language. The Ford proposals had been tougher to start with. Also, the head of the Ford bargaining committee is Mike Rinaldi, president of the 34,000-member Rouge local, who co-authored a hard-hitting front page article on the new technology in the latest issue of his lo-

cal's newspaper.

Ratification of the contract seems certain. The union executive board and the council of G.M. delegates approved the agreement, which now goes to the members for a vote. Few dissident voices were heard at the council meeting, although Independent Skilled Trades Council leader Pete Kelly criticized the contract as a "damn shame" for doing "nothing at all for the people in the plant." There were some delegate votes against the contract (10 or 12 out of over 400, according to UAW vice-president Irving Bluestone, 10 percent or more according to others), but even those critical of aspects of the contract don't expect a big fight against it.

Even UAW president Douglas Fraser was modest, telling assembled reporters, "I hate to characterize every agreement we reach as the greatest ever. There were goals that we had the we would have liked to accomplish, but I think the lesson in any negotiation is that you never get what you like to achieve or think you deserve. But certainly I think it's a very, very good agreement."

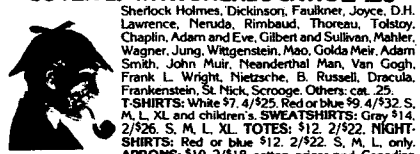
Poor Chrysler.

After the G.M. contract is ratified and Ford reaches a settlement, the UAW will turn to Chrysler. It seems certain that concessions will be made to the ailing company. In its proposal for government aid, Chrysler raised its estimated losses to a new high—\$1.073 million for this year and \$482,000 for next year. Its request for government assistance—a minimum of \$500 million in loan guarantees and possibly another \$700 million—was quickly rebuffed by Treasury Sec. G. William Miller.

To boost the corporation's chances with the administration and Congress, which has been influenced by small business opposition to saving the big automaker, Chrysler chairman John J. Riccardo suddenly resigned last week ahead of schedule. The reluctance of the federal government to intervene to save the company will undoubtedly add to the pressures on the UAW to "do its part" by accepting a weakened contract at Chrysler.

It has not been the best of times to negotiate an auto contract. And it won't get better at Chrysler.

COVER UP WITH SHERLOCK HOLMES



HISTORICAL PROD. box 220rt Cambridge, Ma. 02138

A NEW INQUIRY is the new MAGAZINE political FOR A NEW magazine that speaks to the politics of today.

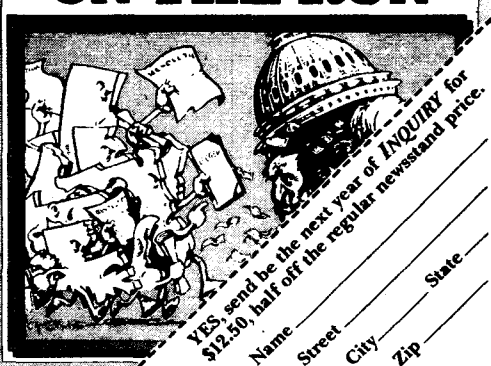
While others—liberals and conservatives alike—recoil in horror from the popular revolt against the welfare-warfare state, *INQUIRY* points the way toward a future free from repression, bureaucratic arrogance, and economic privilege. Join the thousands of Americans who find *INQUIRY*'s tough reporting and daring analysis the perfect antidote to the old politics. In each issue of *INQUIRY*, you'll find such exciting writers as David Wise, Penny Lernoux, Robert Sherrill, Noam Chomsky, Nicholas von Hoffman, Thomas Szasz, and Nat Hentoff.

Please return coupon to:
INQUIRY, P.O. BOX 2500,
Menlo Park, California 94025.

INQUIRY

Joseph Heller talks about Good as Gold
Bar Clements: Dark Tales of a Rising Star
How the Fed Screws the Small Savers

The Balanced Budget Amendment: BIG SPENDERS ON THE RUN



Coal

Continued from page 6.

buy its own stock in order to limit the number of its stockholders, why couldn't outside groups and individuals buy the stock to bring the number of shareholders over five hundred? If Blue Diamond could be forced to "go public," information about profits, management, internal financial transactions would become accessible. A public list of stockholders would also make subsequent shareholder actions easier.

Shares in privately held corporations are traded on the "over-the-counter" market. Stocks can be registered in an individual owner's name or held in a "nominee account" with a brokerage firm and listed by the firm's "street name."

An escrow account was established with Robert Schwartz, vice president of the prominent New York firm Shearson, Hayden, and Stone. Described by the *Wall Street Journal* as "Wall Street's maverick stockbroker," Schwartz has become something of an expert in advising groups how to use their stocks for social ends. Slowly, he began to buy any Blue Diamond shares that appeared on the daily "pink sheet" of the over-the-counter market. In about eighteen months, he had collected about three hundred shares. Some individual shares were bought directly by individuals through Schwartz. Others were bought in blocks, then split up and resold in order to increase the number of shareholders.

The Sisters of Loretto joined the Blue Diamond campaign a year ago. It is only the most recent in a long series of involvements with corporate responsibility projects. Since the 1960s, the Sisters have used their shares in major corporations to raise questions about Defense Department contracting with Honeywell, strip mining in Kentucky with four major steel companies, and the Rocky Flats, Colorado nuclear weapons plant with Rockwell International.

By last February, the stock purchasers were ready to make the next move. Through Schwartz, they asked Blue

Diamond to register the shares (which up to this point were recorded together in the nominee account) in the names of the individual stockholders. The company refused and demanded by affidavit further information about their reasons for buying the stock. After four inconclusive months of exchanged letters and phone calls during which the company repeatedly denied the purchasers their rights as shareholders, thirteen of them responded with the lawsuit. Filed in Delaware where Blue Diamond is incorporated, the stockholders demanded that the company register the thirteen plaintiffs as stockholders of record and notify them of all future stockholder meetings.

Since the announcement of the suit, Blue Diamond has refused official comment. The company has hinted that the Sisters of Loretto have conspired with the UMW to purchase stock. While there is no one connected with the union involved in the campaign, Blue Diamond will probably argue that the shareholders' campaign constitutes purchasing stock for conspiratorial purposes and is illegal under the 1934 Securities Exchange Act. There are anti-conspiracy provisions in the law. Unions cannot use stock for collective bargaining purposes and it is illegal to use inside information about a company in order to buy or sell stocks for excessive profits. But according to Schwartz, "there is absolutely nothing wrong with people buying stock in order to influence the direction of the company."

Even if the plaintiffs succeed in forcing registration of the stock in their names, they probably do not have enough individual shareholders to break the five hundred barrier just yet.

Last week's lawsuit is a preliminary step. "First we have to find out who the power behind the company is," said Ray Rogers of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers and a plaintiff in the suit. Precisely for this reason, the struggle at Blue Diamond is important. Most shareholder actions have been against large, already public, corporations. At Blue Diamond, where corporate secrecy has for so long been the unquestioned vehicle of day to day decision making, public exposure and the threat of "going public" could have a far more direct impact.

Elections

Continued from page 6.

people," he said.

Alschuler also acknowledges that "People are scared of Nick. We've used anger, and made other people angry. And Nick is personally volatile; he's an impassioned man."

The Carbone administration did support a number of progressive programs, and won a number of victories. It was a driving force in a major restructuring of state aid to cities, and in the first significant increase in welfare benefits in years. Carbone lobbying stopped a "workfare" bill from passing the conservative state legislature. Differential property tax rates were instituted for commercial properties and homeowners. Carbone also attacked the suburbs repeatedly; in 1974 Hartford brought suit to force them to spend HUD funds on housing for poor people.

Alschuler also defends one of Carbone's most controversial programs, his emphasis on the economic development of downtown—what critics call the "trickle-down" theory. "We had trouble getting people to understand the importance of the downtown tax base. In fact, 70 percent of our tax base comes from the corporations, and those taxes pay for police and firefighters and other essential services. Without a progressive economic development program to keep the corporations here, the future of the city—and the neighborhoods—would be in jeopardy," he said.

In Alschuler's view, Carbone was the victim of today's fiscal realities—"people's lives have gotten worse, and local government has only marginal powers to affect that"—and of biased coverage by the city's only daily newspaper, the *Courant*.

Police chief wins on second try.

In New Haven, liberal Mayor Frank Logue was beaten by a combination of a former police chief who appealed to voter concerns about crime and city expenditures, an ethnic backlash against an

unresponsive mayor, and the determination of the old Democratic machine to regain power.

Viagio "Ben" DiLieto resigned as police chief in the spring of 1977 in the face of a police commission investigation of illegal wiretapping by police. When DiLieto became chief, in 1971, he was informed by police officials of the wiretapping, which had been aimed largely at political dissidents. According to commission testimony, DiLieto ordered the wiretapping reinstituted. He claims he authorized only one wiretap, aimed at monitoring political organizing around the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins. Other police officers report, however, that wiretapping was widespread. Later in 1971, DiLieto ordered the wiretapping stopped and the machines dumped into New Haven Harbor. DiLieto successfully fought a court order to testify before the commission. He is a defendant in a massive federal civil rights suit currently working its way through the courts.

Immediately after DiLieto resigned he joined the Democratic Party and announced his candidacy for mayor, challenging Logue. After a hard-fought 12 week campaign, Logue defeated DiLieto by a narrow 243 vote margin.

DiLieto hasn't worked since his defeat. Instead, he's spent all his time for the past two years campaigning, determined to beat Logue this time around.

Logue, like Carbone, supported a number of progressive programs as mayor, but ultimately failed to convince the voters that he was *their* mayor. Liberals who had supported the mayor when he first ran as a reformer four years ago became disenchanted with his seeming unresponsiveness and his lack of political acumen.

With the defeat of Carbone and Logue, Connecticut's urban coalition is in shambles. The Carbone and Logue lobbying teams were often effective in keeping the heavily conservative, suburban-oriented state legislature from running roughshod over the cities. But the newly-nominated chief executives (both will almost certainly be elected in November) are fiscal conservatives. Both have promised to cut city budgets while increasing police services. Neither has any demonstrated skill in obtaining government grants.



COME JOIN THE CELEBRATION!

Despite the odds, *In These Times* is nearing its third anniversary of publication.

We've proven that an independent socialist newspaper can become a leading and respected publication—Now we're going to celebrate with a special anniversary issue of the newspaper.

You can join us by taking out an anniversary greeting ad in the Nov. 7 edition of *In These Times*.

To reserve space for your message of support, simply fill out the attached coupon. Our deadline for ads is October 8 so don't delay.

For more information, call or write Bob Nicklas, *In These Times* 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, Ill. 60622. (312) 489-4444.



ORDER NOW!

PLEASE RESERVE THE FOLLOWING SPACE:

		Width	Length
Full page	\$1200	10"	16"
Half page	650	10"	8"
1/4 page	325	4 1/2"	8"
1/8 page	165	4 1/2"	4"
1/16 page	85	2 1/4"	4"
1/32 page	45	2 1/4"	2"
Individual greeting	10		

I have enclosed \$_____ for payment of the advertisement indicated.

- Please type copy on separate sheet.
- Camera ready copy is acceptable.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE, ZIP _____

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

IN FOCUS

FESTIVALS

Celebrations at summer's end

The end of summer brought festivals of all varieties.

On Labor Day in New York, one union's cultural committee, the Bread and Roses Committee (see *ITT*, April 18) of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees sponsored a street fair. With private and public foundation money supporting the event, performers such as the Olatunji troupe (upper right insert), Sweet Honey in the Rock and Bread and Puppet Theater appeared.

Labor documentaries were also screened, and representatives of different unions demonstrated their skills. 75,000 people appeared.

In Philadelphia over Labor Day weekend 10,000 people listened to over 100 performers at the 18th Annual Philadelphia Folk Festival (right, flutist and father). U. Utah Phillips, storyteller, poet and ideologue, sang of the condition of American workers.

In tiny Hesperia, Michigan, the Fourth Annual Michigan Women's Music Festival drew 6,000 women, many of them lesbian feminists, from throughout the U.S. and Canada. They gathered for music, discussions and workshops on subjects ranging from nuclear power to hair braiding. (Some Canadian women reported harassment from immigration officials, who threatened to deny entry on grounds of sexual deviance.) Teresa Trull sang onstage with Rhiannon of the jazz group Alive! (right).

In Chicago the city government continued to offer public festivals. The Jazz Festival, held the week after ChicagoFest (*ITT*, Sept. 5-11), was free, unlike former festival. For five nights, jazz artists as diverse as McCoy Tyner, Benny Goodman and Bradley Parker (below right, with Sparrow), played for relaxed, racially mixed crowds (lower right).



Greg Moyer



Jan Loveland



Greg Moyer



Ken Firestone



Ken Firestone



Greg Moyer

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Many facets of Pete Seeger on new album

By Eric Lipton

The second time I saw Pete Seeger was early Saturday morning July 21. My car's engine had blown up on Route 86 between Waterbury and Hartford, Conn. I stuck out my thumb for the nearest gas station. Almost immediately, a battered old clunker pulled over from the fast lane.

As it slowed down past me, I noticed it was driven by a middle-aged couple. That was not expected, as it violated hitchhiking rules of the road—couples and middle-aged drivers never stop. I trotted to where the car groaned to a stop and a woman named Toshi opened the door

Indian and rousing good time music to date.

"Don't try to label this record," he says. "Words often entangle us. Take the words 'folk' and 'pop.' I used to be so disgusted by some of the sillier popular music I heard when I was a teenager. Since then, of course I've learned that some traditional folk music can be uninteresting, and that some pop music can be great."

Some cuts have been almost lavishly produced by Fred Hellerman, a friend of Seeger's from the old Weaver days of the '50s. The most conspicuous example is "Allelulia" by English composer William Boyce (1710-1779), to which Hellerman added trumpets and beautiful voice of an-



year-old Springfield, Mass., communist murdered by gun thugs in Harlan County, Ky., written by a fellow organizer.

"Harry Sims was killed on Brush Creek/In nineteen thirty-two/He organized the miners/into the NMU/He gave his life in struggle/That was all that he could do/He died for the union/Also for me and you."

Seeger also sings a song written by his sister, Peggy, from her album *Different Therefore Equal*, called "I'm Gonna Be an Engineer," describing the myriad obstacles to a girl's dream of womanhood.

"I been a sucker ever since I was a baby/As a daughter, as a mother, as a lover, as a dear/But I'll fight them as a woman, not a lady/I'll fight them as an engineer."

For me, the most touching song is "As the Sun Rose." It reflects both the disappointments and the hopes of one who has been around over the long haul.

"As the sun/Rose on the rim of eastern sky/And this one/World that we love was trying to die/We said, Stand!/And sing out for a great hooray—oh/Your child may be the one to exclaim: 'The emperor is naked today—oh!/Four winds that blow/Four thousand tongues, with the word: 'Survive'/Four billion souls/Striving today to stay alive."

Of this song, Seeger says, "I'm not as optimistic for the human

race as I used to be...but I still think there's a chance."

If there is one Seeger album that displays the musician in all his facets—if there is one Seeger album you must have—this is it.

But you may have a hard time finding it. I went to the largest record store chain in Pittsburgh, only to be told they don't carry Seeger.

"But why?" I asked.

"Because he doesn't sell. No one buys him."

"But, he's just released a new album."

"I don't know, I think we have one Pete Seeger album."

The clerk went to a bin labeled *miscellaneous rock: S*. She impatiently thumbed through the albums and, at the very back, found the store's one Seeger album, the one I wanted—*Circles and Seasons*.

Search it out. Buy it. It may be the only Pete Seeger album for another six years.

"Some folk music can be uninteresting, some pop music can be great," says Seeger.

for me. I hopped in and noticed the driver—the face I'd seen on a dozen album covers—Pete Seeger.

"Don't I know you?" I asked. "Well," said a voice I'd heard a thousand times, "you might. I'm a musician."

The first time I met Pete Seeger was the summer of '68. As Czechoslovakia was invaded and Chicago erupted, I sat in a tin trailer at some prehistoric Indian ruins in the Arizona desert working as a ranger/historian for the National Park Service.

The most exciting thing to happen there was the rumor of a hippie love-in at the Grand Canyon. Rangers at every National Park and monument within a 200 mile radius were put on alert and ordered to fly at a moment's notice to the Grand Canyon in order to bash hippie heads.

I felt I was on the wrong side.

I had recently applied for conscientious objector status at my local draft board in Phoenix and my fellow rangers didn't approve. The Park Service gives preference to military veterans and they had all—even the secretary at the visitor—served in the Army or Marines.

In my isolation, I discovered a cache of Pete Seeger albums left by a previous tenant of the tin trailer. Pete Seeger—singing songs of struggle and of the sloop *Clearwater*—got me through that summer in the desert.

And now, here's a new Pete Seeger album to add to my inherited stash.

Circles and Seasons (Warner) is Seeger's first major label LP in six years. As the ad says, Seeger's "damn good and ready" to deliver "the most eclectic and perhaps most accessible blend of traditional, classical, British,

other ex-Weaver, Ronnie Gilbert. To this round of classical opulence has been added a second round by Charles Seeger, Pete's father, written in the early '30s. "Joy upon this earth/To live and see the day/When Rockefeller senior/Shall up to me and say, 'Comrades, can you spare a dime?'"

Other cuts, however, are as spare and clear as a single voice can make them. "Arrangements of a few of the songs," says Seeger, "are purposely kept as simple. Maybe they will encourage a listener to say to herself/himself, 'Now, there's a song I'd like to memorize and sing to my friends.'"

There is vintage Seeger in songs like "Viva La Quince Brigada" (Long Live the Fifth Brigade), sung by the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War and recorded previously by Seeger. There is also "Harry Sims," about a 19-

CULTURE SHOCK

SAFER THAN PRAYER

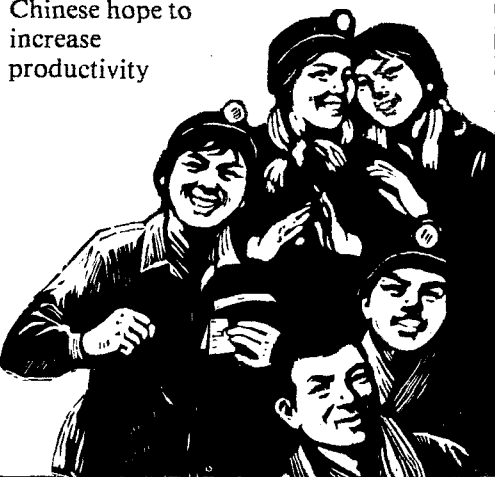
Clergymen who are in danger of being sued by their flock for unworkable advice can now buy malpractice insurance from the Church Mutual Insurance Company.

MILLIONS OF CHINESE HUMMING ALONG

The Muzak Corporation reports a very

successful sales trip to the People's Republic of China. The Chinese hope to increase productivity

with the use of Muzak songs in the workplace.



RADICAL HISTORY FORUM

Dr. Giovanni Jervis
(Prof. Psychiatry University of Rome)

The Politics of Psychiatry:
The Italian case in 1968

September 28 7:30 p.m. John Jay College
445 W. 59 St. New York City

In These Times provides a unique filter for the world—a quick review of urban, labor, international, women's, cultural news from a people's perspective.

Ruth Messinger
Member
New York
City Council
4th District
Manhattan



- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 48 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.
☐ Bill me later.
☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge
Account number _____
Signature _____

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, Ill. 60650 ST 92



Asian-American's writing builds a culture of resistance

IN THE CITY OF CONTRADICTIONS
By Fay Chiang
Sunbury Press, 1979, \$3.00

By John Tchen

Fay Chiang's *In the City of Contradictions*, a collection of poems, choreopoems and prose pieces, captures a part of the spirit of New York working class Asian America. Unlike the glossy assimilation-bound *Jade Magazine*-type consciousness,

Fay's writings creak and scream the feelings of everyday life. The sections of the book: "Chinatown," "Family," "Women," "Contradictions," "Survival," chart her life for the past eight years. We journey with her through death, anger, rage, withdrawal, joy and new hopes. These pieces mark moments in her personal quest for clarity about her identity as a Chinese Asian American, as a woman, and as a political activist.

The poem "Chinatown" tells

of New York Chinese "falling off the mountain of gold" "to make a dime in factories, restaurants/trying to beat time/make some American Dream come true." "(A)merican t.v. sold mickey mouse and donald ducks/to little alicia and jerrys and run spot run/in the suburbias of white picket fences and automobiles/and american society sold cheap labor and self hatred/to little chins and wongs and run dog run/in the ghettos of railroad flats/and dead end streets."

She mocks male fantasies of Asian women, and pays tribute to the "bitter strength" of immigrant workers.

"Walking the Mountain" recounts a Chiang family visit to their father's grave. He had died of cancer in his early fifties, and the family still deeply grieves the loss. What begins as an almost mechanical ritual ("lighting incense, candles and burning paper money to be carried by the smoke to the heavens") dissolves to what has been happening to the lives of the individual family members in the three years since his death. The piece ends with a coming to terms with the death in the settling of old debts, and the quiet resolve to continue "living with the passage of seasons." What appears in 1979 America as the antiquated tradition of ancestor worship is re-fashioned.

"Choreopoem I" chides the '70s "foxy lady/strutting down the street/in her fine feathered clothes" and mocks the male fantasy of Asian women: "soft," and "kitten like" graced with "silken hair" and "mysterious" auras. Fay recreates these stereotyped fantasies to lure us into an understanding of the painful disfiguration that comes with these roles. The final stanza counterposes that painful acting out with the feeling strength and solidarity that comes from women defining themselves: "catch a windsong/feeling pain/growing strong/she's so fine."

"Bitter Strength" gives tribute to Asian American workers, whose will to survive and resist oppression is seldom celebrated.

*bitter strength feels the sun
on foreheads and backs bent
over fields
on hands shaped by labor
feet planted in earth...*

*bitter strength takes comfort
and warmth
in the hearts, the songs and
stories,
the meals eaten together,
the small events, secrets,
repeated...
bitter strength is not a thing of
the past
bitter strength is our
blood line.*

Fay's poems develop an Asian American language that can pierce that pall of silence that has proscribed our history and culture. This act of reclamation, of Asian American and Asian words, symbols, rituals and sensibilities, provides the foundations for a culture of resistance to sustain our present and our future struggles.

Six years ago, when I was a student in the Midwest, we organized a regional Asian American conference with the theme "Getting Beyond Identity." I think back to that title with some embarrassment now. Fay's book demonstrates that we never "get beyond" identity. If anything, we move from one layer of identity to another, deepening our degree of self-awareness and collective wisdom. With the aid of Fay's words we see some of the sinews of a working class Asian American soul, in the tradition of Louis Chu (*Eat a Bowl of Tea*) and Carlos Bolusan (*America is in the Heart*, and other writings). The book is available from Sunbury Press, Box 274, Jerome Avenue Station, Bronx, NY 10468; include \$.50 postage.

John Tchen is a historian and community activist in New York's Asian American community.

CLASSIFIED

ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS—American support group for Ireland's main progressive movement. Send for sample newsletter. 243 Mt. Hope, Albany, N.Y. 12202.

PUBLICATIONS

OUT OF PRINT Radical Literature & Books of Social Interest. Send 28¢ in stamps for free catalog. Bookcase, 1307 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill. 60201.

SEPTEMBER, JEWISH CURRENTS, Editorial, "PEACE FERMENT IN ISRAEL"; "Third Party, 1948 and Now?" by Max Gordon; *The Deer Hunter Debunked* by David Platt; "Moses Mendelssohn, Humanist Giant" by Leonard A. Greenberg. Single copy \$1.00 Subscriptions \$10/yr. Write: *Jewish Currents*, Dept. T, 22 East 17th St., N.Y., N.Y., 10003. New Pamphlet by Dr. Albert Prago, "Jews in the International Brigades in Spain." Send 75¢. Special—*A Ten Year Harvest*, Third Jewish Currents Reader, 1966-76, 300p. paperback—\$3.75.

SOCIALISM for the U.S.A., an 80-page pamphlet by labor professor Harry Kelber, makes the idea of a Socialist America not only "thinkable" but attractive to working people, based on their everyday working experience and self-interest. \$1.75 per copy includes mailing

and handling. Write to: Straight Talk Pamphlets, Box 1059 Grand Central P.O., New York 10036.

ESSAYS ON THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF WORK AND LABOR: A SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE INSURGENT SOCIOLOGIST \$5.85 Post-Paid From Our Bookshop. For our free list of periodicals-by-mail send us your name, address, and a 15¢ stamp. A Periodical Retreat, 336½ S. State, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

DO YOU KNOW about HERPES, the epidemic venereal disease? Read our complete booklet on causes, prevention and treatment. Send \$1.40 to Women's Health Center, 250 Locust, Santa Cruz, CA. 95060.

FOR SALE

FEMINIST INTROSPECTIONS—Signed artist reproductions, priced below \$20.00! Brochure: Send 15¢ to: Polymania, PO Box 26121, So. Portland, ME. 04106.

TWO AUDIOTAPES ON THE VIETNAM WAR: songs from the anti-war struggles, and rewriting the history of the war. \$5 per cassette. Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

EVENTS

LOS ANGELES: Michael Harrington, National Chair—D.S.O.C., Speaks On: "Left Directions for the 80's." Sunday, Sept. 30, 1:30 p.m., Room 1178, Franz Hall, U.C.

L.A. (Near parking structure #2, intersection of Hilgard & West Holme).

DEFENSE MEETING—CHICAGO: Stop the Executions of the Iranian Socialists. Speakers: Farhad Nouri, Iranian Socialists Workers Party (HKS) and staff member for *Kragar*, newspaper of HKS; others. Sunday, September 30, 7:30 p.m. Buckingham Room, Essex Inn, 800 S. Michigan Ave. Donation. Ausp: Committee to save the Iranian 14. For more information call: (312) 939-0737.

T-SHIRTS

TRY IT ON.
SEE IF IT STILL FITS.

COALITION
For a New Foreign and Military Policy

Support the movement in style. Order your Peace Sign T-shirt today. They make great gifts. Just send us your check with your desired size and color. Adults' available in light blue, yellow & tan, \$6.00 ea. Children's only in white. \$5.50 ea. Sizes for both are S, M, L, XL. Prices include postage. All shirts are union made, 50% cotton, 50% polyester, non-shrink. (Wholesale inquiries welcome.) Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

EDUCATION

JEWISH SECULAR EDUCATION??? The New York Jewish Mittelshule offers classes for pre-teens and teens in Yiddish-History-Literature-Folklore-Folksongs-Celebration of Holidays. Saturdays-New York University Loeb Student Center, 4th Street and LaGuardia Place. Starts Sept. 29th. For information call: 212-CH3-1304, 212-671-3405 or 212-547-9307.

HELP WANTED

STUDENTS: Sell subs to ITT on campus and keep \$4 per sub. Write or call Pat Vander Meer at ITT, Chicago.

NEW YORK AREA—Volunteers needed for telephone coding and subscription soliciting for In These Times. Paid jobs available for experienced telephone marketers. Call George Carrano, 865-7638 or Jonathan Fisher, 255-7216.

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. Mail inquiries are welcome.

Tel. (312) 525-3667
11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days
Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

ROOMMATES

HOUSE-MATE WANTED for collective, socialist house in Philadelphia. Nonsmokers/No pets. Call 382-7845, Evenings.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Hans Hewitt 107987 Bland Corr. Center, B.C.C. Route 2 Bland, VA. 24315

Walter Chestnut 151818, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.

Joe Morris, #147-540, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John L. Wright, #124-730, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Duane P. Harris, #138632, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Sam Burgard, 149-074, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Jessie J. Cowans, 152-294, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

CLASSIFIED RATES:
35¢ PER WORD PREPAID
SEND TO:
1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.
CHICAGO, IL 60622

By Dollars and Sense

In the Zulu language of South Africa, Amandla means power—"the power that gives us freedom." For the people of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and South Africa, it means the power to win their struggle for self rule. In Boston, on July 21st, it meant a benefit concert for the people of Southern Africa.

It was a good idea: a benefit concert in Harvard University Stadium "to raise as much money as possible for badly needed relief and humanitarian aid" for refugees in Southern Africa. And it was a great concert: an audience of nearly 15,000 spent seven hours in the hot summer sun listening to the music of Bob Marley and the Wailers, Patti LaBelle, Olatunji, Eddie Palmieri and the South African band Jalo. There was traditional African dance and political comedy by Dick Gregory. The sound, staging and performances were excellent.

The seven member Amandla concert collective, all but one of whom were inexperienced in concert production, managed to produce—with some 400 volunteers behind them—a large, complex and professional musical event, seemingly without a hitch. It was a success, save for one thing: despite ticket prices of \$10 to \$14 a head, the Festival of Unity did not raise any relief money for Southern Africa.

In fact, when the smoke cleared, the Amandla group admitted that the benefit actually lost somewhere between \$30,000 and \$50,000.

Benefit economics.

How did it happen? The collective admits that it made mistakes in the concert organization. Some of them were products of inexperience in the economics of rock benefits. To begin with, the artist who agreed to "donate" their time rarely do so for free. Peebee Garofalo, a veteran of the benefit concert circuit and Amandla group member said, "Eighty percent of the musicians out there are still playing for beer money; they have to grovel and scrape just to make it. So by the time they do make it, many don't want to play free benefits."

"As you get bigger, you acquire an entourage of people—managers, agents, sound and equipment people—and one of their functions is to keep people away from you and make you money. So when you ask an artist's organization to play a benefit, you are asking them to give up a possible commercial date."

Benefits can become a big headache for groups that say "yes." Rock musician and gay activist Tom Robinson, in an interview with Bruce Dancis (ITT, May 16), commented on what he calls the "benefit band syndrome." "It's the trap that anybody who is committed at all to anything radical falls into. If you're a plumber, a comrade's going to ring you up next week and say, 'Can you come and fix the pipes in the party central office, please?' and then soon you find that you're working all your spare hours, and some of your days, to go and fix things for nothing. And you run yourself out of a living."

These factors nearly spelled doom for the Amandla benefit. Five weeks before the show, the group had no firm commitment from a musician with a reputation big enough to fill Harvard's stadium. For instance, for months they had negotiated with Steve Wonder's organization, but were

CONCERT ECONOMICS



How to lose big money in the best of causes

never able to speak to him or get a firm yes or no. In desperation, the collective took the shot-gun approach, leafing through *Billboard* magazine's yearly talent directory, and calling the managers of the top black acts.

A scant four weeks before the concert, a meeting in Jamaica won the promise of reggae superstar Bob Marley to play the event, and the amateur promoters were back in business.

That is, business as usual. Marley agreed to play a benefit, but his manager Don Taylor insisted on a fee of \$25,500 for expenses. All the other acts cost the group \$27,000 total. Marley traveled to Boston with 23 other people—including a cook—so \$10,600 was needed for plane tickets; \$10,000 for personal expenses; \$2500 for hotel rooms, \$700 for a bus and \$1700 for rented musical equipment.

While commercial promoters can spread overhead costs for production crews, security and the like over many concerts,

benefit promoters usually have to incur all those costs over the life of just one show. And paying the price for a place to hold a concert "big enough to pay" is another sobering reality of the rock 'n roll world.

"Renting a small facility is simply not financially worthwhile," explains Garofalo. "Small concerts no longer make money. Now a small hall is used to groom acts, inevitably at a loss, for bigger, million dollar audiences at places like the Boston Garden."

But even if Amandla had wanted to book their concert into Garden, it was out of the question. For as the rock industry grew, so did a handful of regional concert promoters who gained influence over the performance circuit.

Step on the grass.

Amandla settled on Harvard University Stadium because of its size—23,000 seats—and because the university has been at the center of Boston-area pro-

tests to end universities' considerable investments in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. Permission to use the stadium was nearly insured because of the group's stated cause, and Harvard's eagerness to trade in a bit of its ugly image for some positive publicity.

Still, while the stadium may have come easier to Amandla than other benefit causes, it was not to come cheap. Harvard insisted on \$25,000 in escrow funds for insurance against damage the stadium might sustain. Apparently the university's greatest concern was for the grass on the football field.

Twelve thousand dollars of

that escrow money went to pay about a hundred police on the day of the concert, and other "routine" costs of the concert world included \$30,000 for on-site production and \$5000 for office expenses. But what really hurt was a \$30,000 advertising bill. With only three weeks left to advertise in, the group was forced to go the costly commercial route. Above all else, they needed a capacity audience to cover their expenses and insure that there would be money to send to Southern Africa.

But the advertising blitz came too late, and the sell-out crowd did not materialize. A month after the event the collective reported the concert was finally at the break-even point—the concert's backers having agreed to bail out the project by donating funds that had initially been intended as loans. The group owns 50% of a film made during the concert, something they hope will eventually generate funds for the liberation struggle.

Had the Amandla concert raised money, it would have gone to the liberation organizations fighting in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South West Africa through the Africa Fund—a tax-exempt associate of the American Committee on Africa which acts as a conduit for funds to that continent. The Amandla collective spent a great deal of time researching a reliable means of getting the money to South Africa. As group member Garofalo points out, "money from benefit concerts doesn't always get where it is supposed to go."

Where does it go? Take the benefit concert for Bangladesh, for instance, staged way back in the early '70s. The money has yet to make its way to that country; the IRS confiscated the cash because the concert's promoters never set up the proper tax-exempt channels. And when the Rolling Stones did a benefit show to help the Nicaraguan people rebuild the city of Managua after the earthquake there in 1972, the money went, instead, "into Somoza's pocket," says Garofalo.

A version of this article first appeared in *Dollars and Sense*, 38 Union Sq., #14, Somerville MA 02143.

FROM MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF IN THESE TIMES

A GREAT SOCIALIST NOVEL.

"The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists"

is a classic of modern British literature, that ought to rank with the work of Thomas Hardy, D. H. Lawrence, and James Joyce, and yet it is largely unknown because of its political unorthodoxy. A proletarian, socialist novel, it has been ignored by the cultural establishment in the United States and England, but at the same time has not been welcomed in left-wing circles.

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists takes a hard, unsentimental look at the proletariat; no revolution is described in these pages, nor is there a strike or even a trade union. What's more, the bulk of the workers portrayed here express 'blind, stupid, enthusiastic admiration... for those who exploited and robbed them. They 'supported and defended the system that robbed them and have resisted and ridiculed every proposal to alter it.'

Tressell's bitterness and anger are mixed with compassion, sympathy, and a sharp sense of humor.... — JONAH RASKIN

"This is an exhilarating book, a rare combination of wonderful reading and a political work in the truest sense of the term." — RADICAL AMERICA

Regular \$7.50/Special \$5.95 (paperback)

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO IN THESE TIMES
ADD 50¢ POSTAGE AND HANDLING FOR EACH BOOK

Please send the following titles:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SEND TO: In These Times, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622

Guindon



© 1979 Los Angeles Times Syndicate

HEALTH FOOD, ONCE THE diet of eccentrics, is more than a fad: it's a national obsession. Start out the day eating "Golden Cal Crunchy Yeast" washed down with a glass of "Protesoy," an amino acid protein drink, and take a "New, Improved Super Vit-A-Day" tablet. For lunch? Salad, with some "Magna B" tablets to steady the nerves, a glass of "Naturade" and a "Joggers" vitamin before running. Shower with "Orjene Cucumber Cleanser Lotion" and "Born Again Hair" henna shampoo, cleaning the stall with "Herbalseptic." Dinner? A "Nature's Burger," possibly dripping with "Energol" germ oil concentrate, and a glass of "Meyenberg Goat Milk." And, if you feel constipated, take some "Innerclean" herbal laxative ("nature's way to relieve..."). It's all part of living naturally.

American consumers will spend almost \$3 billion on health foods and products in 1979. They will buy the vitamins and herbs, organic bread, natural cereals, organic produce and millions of books telling them how healthy health food is. But they will not necessarily be buying their health.

Regulatory agencies—the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission—have been unable or unwilling to enact any labeling or ingredient standards for the health food industry, leaving it one of the least regulated in the country. Attempts to set standards for the use of such terms as "health food," "natural" and "organic" have been vigorously opposed by the industry, to the detriment of consumers who generally pay 50 to 100 percent more for health food than for conventional produce. As one government official put it: "The American public is being ripped off."

The health food industry is an amalgam of food growers and processors, drug and vitamin companies, book publishers and appliance manufacturers. Most of the \$3 billion consumers spend on health food is spent in specialized health food stores.

There are approximately 6,000 such stores in America, mostly located in center cities, serving middle- and upper-middle income groups. The average customer is 35 years old, and last year spent \$9.39 per visit to the store. Most of this money went to purchase vitamins and supplements (34.6 percent of sales), followed by herbs (7.9 percent), and grains and cereals (6.1 percent). Almost nonexistent, however, were sales of organic produce. The industry enjoys a growth rate exceeding 20 percent a year.

In 1977, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition released its landmark report, "Dietary Goals for the United States," which documented just how unhealthy the American diet has become, and recommended what steps should be taken to improve it. Two of the most important recommendations were to cut sugar consumption by 40 percent and reduce salt consumption by 50 to 85 percent. The report documented links between sugar and heart disease and tooth decay, and cited scientific studies linking salt with tension and nervous disorders.

Many consumers turned to processed health food cereals and snacks. But health food/junk foods contain high levels of both substances, as well as a number of artificial additives. A survey of 91 manufacturers of health food snacks conducted by the Natural Food Business Journal last year revealed that only 13 did not add sweeteners to their products and only 39 did not add salt.

Most manufacturers disguise the amount of sugar in their products, sweetening the goods with turbinado (derived from cane sugar), honey (a concentrated form of sugar), sorbitol (an artificial sweetener) or sugar concentrates derived from dextrose and fructose. The percentage of sweeteners added ranges from less than 1 percent for seasoning almonds to 100 percent for pure maple sugar candy. For example, Donna's Natural Bakery, which makes cookies, uses enormous amounts of honey—up to 50 percent—in its products. Golden Temple Natural Foods of Oregon (makers of "Wha Guru Chews" candy bars) uses 70-75 percent honey and 25-30 per-

cent malt syrup. Richter Brothers, Inc., makers of Familia bars and grain biscuits, uses sugar, which accounts for 20 percent of the Familia bars and 5-10 percent of the biscuits. Sugarless Candy Corp. of America uses sorbitol in its hard candies and a 62-percent honey filling for its sugarless wafers.

The term "natural," meaning that which is unprocessed and contains no artificial or synthetic ingredients or additives, has been applied to foods that run the gamut insofar as extent of processing is concerned. It has been applied to dairy products, despite the fact that at least some processing (e.g., pasteurization, homogenization, etc.) is obviously involved. At the other extreme, highly processed products such as instant bouillon, frozen onion rings, yogurt chips and vitamin and mineral supplements are also characterized as "natural."

"Advertising claims," an FTC report said, "are equally confusing and inconsistent with regard to the presence of additives in a 'natural' food." One "natural" cereal, for example, claims it has "no preservatives," another says it has "no artificial preservatives," and still another "natural" cereal is vitamin fortified. All three "natural" cereals, the report noted, "could contain artificial flavors or colors and still fall within... self serving definition[s] of 'natural'." As with the term "natural," "organic" has been applied to some very strange material. For example, many advertisements promote "organic" iron or other "organic" minerals. Yet minerals are generally considered to be inorganic substances because they do not contain carbon.

Perhaps the biggest claims are made for health food vitamins, a category that accounted for over \$350 million in health food store sales last year. Advocates of "natural" and "organic" vitamins imply nutritional superiority of these products where none exists. Frequently, too, substances are falsely promoted as vitamins, as happened with the designation of pangamic acid as vitamin B-15. Vitamins are organic substances required in minute amounts in one's diet for normal growth, maintenance of health and reproduction, without which the human body functions abnormally. Pangamic acid is not a vitamin because it is not essential for the normal functioning of the body.

"The most widespread and expensive type of quackery in the United States today is the promotion of vitamin products, special dietary foods and food supplements," says noted nutritionist G.P. Larrick.

"Millions of consumers are being misled concerning their need for such products... Food quackery today can only be compared to the patent medicine craze which reached its height in the last century."

An industry pioneer recently observed that "ninety-nine percent of health food stores are pill pushers. Vegetables are messy, vitamins move quickly." Although health food stores are the best place to buy such staples as grains, oils, fruits, vegetables and dairy products, these items represent only a very small part of store sales. Most consumers believe vitamins and herbs (the latter often the natural, unrefined form of a drug) provide a quick fix, a short cut to good health.

Proposals now before the FTC would establish new standards for the use of the terms "natural" and "organic" and would ban the use of the term "health food" except when used in the name of a store or restaurant (an FTC staff report concluded that "...the term 'health food' should be prohibited on the grounds that it is undefined, undefinable, and inherently deceptive").

Three agencies—FDA, FTC and the Agriculture Department—are also considering legislation mandating nutritional labeling that could be applied to health food products, but consumer activists say resulting legislation would only compound existing confusion unless it is linked to label simplification and consumer education. "You still don't know the percentages of the ingredients listed. You're acting in the dark," said one nutritionist. "Labels have nutrient information and RDAs [Recommended Daily Allowances] that people don't understand."

Even if labels are simplified, serious questions have arisen over how the accuracy of ingredient listings could be enforced. No central authority is equipped to verify product contents impartially. Dr. Sidney Wolfe, head of Ralph Nader's Health Research Group, recently noted that the FDA "doesn't test chemicals... it relies totally on material submitted by the manufacturers."

As long as proposed regulations are delayed or ignored, a large company like Kellogg's can claim, as it did in an advertisement for Kellogg's Corn Flakes, that "we made health food long before it became a fad," describing the morning munchies as a "health food." Under present regulations McDonald's could claim it sells "organic" cheeseburgers and "natural" french fries.

BY JOSH MARTIN

HEALTH ON THE SNACK

*Eat with care—
the health food
business is one
of the least
regulated in
the country.*

